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Certaine Worthye Manuscripts:
Medieval Books in the Fisher Library

Exhibition and Catalogue

Pearce J. Carefoote, Timothy Perry, & Nadav Sharon

THE THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY

University of Toronto 6 September–20 December 2022

Exhibition and catalogue by
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The labour of the scribe is the refreshment of the reader, for the former grows weak in body and the latter strong in mind. Whoever you are, therefore, you who profit from this work, do not, out of disdain, forget the one who laboured at it. And in this way, God (once invoked) will forget in turn your sins. Amen … Whoever does not know how to write does not think it any labour; but if you wish to know how great a burden writing is, I will describe it point by point: it sets a mist upon the eyes, it crooks the back, it breaks the ribs and the belly, it brings pain to the kidneys, and makes the whole body weary. Therefore, reader, turn the pages slowly and keep your fingers well away from the writing. For just as hail destroys the fertility of the soil, so a careless reader destroys both the writing and the book; and just as the final port is welcome to sailors, so the final line is to the scribe. *Explicit*, thanks be to God always.

Reflection by the scribe Florentius of Valeranica left in a tenth-century Spanish copy of Gregory the Great's Moralia in Job *(Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 80)*

PREFACE

Loryl MacDonald

Director of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

This exhibition, *Certaine Worthye Manuscripts: Medieval Books in the Fisher Library*, has been long anticipated. In March 2020, galleries, libraries, archives, and museums around the world closed to the public owing to the global pandemic. The dedicated exhibition spaces of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library were no different, falling silent for eighteen months. This exhibition, originally scheduled for the summer of 2020, was postponed. As the pandemic changed our world, we realised that we needed special collections more than ever to inform, enlighten, distract, and uplift us. While the Fisher doors were closed, staff worked on innovative ways to explore our special collections. The transition of reference, teaching, and outreach activities to a virtual environment was truly a remarkable accomplishment, one that would have been unimaginable five years ago. Of course, the virtual realm can never replace the awesome sensory experience of being physically in the Fisher Library or the physical qualities of rare books and the information we acquire from seeing them in person. And so, we are very pleased that after more than two isolating, stuttering, and strange years we can finally host a major exhibition. And, what a glorious exhibition it is!

I wish to acknowledge Janet Dewan and Barbara Tangney for their generous support of this catalogue. I also thank Marie Korey for her time, expertise, and editorial input. Gratitude also goes to conservator, Linda Joy who mounted this gorgeous exhibition. Finally, I wish to congratulate co-curators PJ Carefoote, Timothy Perry, and Nadav Sharon. Major Fisher exhibitions are years in the planning. The expertise, scholarship, and logistics behind every one of them are astounding even in ordinary times. PJ, Tim, and Nadav's work is even more impressive given the delays, hurdles, and uncertainty they have had to navigate. For this, we are most grateful. I hope that you will agree with me that the anticipation was well worth it.

INTRODUCTION

Medieval Manuscripts at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library: Past, Present, and Future

Libraries are windows into cultural history. The decisions that are made about how to shape a collection reflect the tastes and interests of particular librarians living and working in a particular time and place. Similarly, what is excluded from a library can speak as eloquently as what is accessioned. It is for that reason that Alberto Manguel (1948–) suggests that 'If every library is in some sense a reflection of its readers, it is also an image of that which we are not, and cannot be'[1]—or, at least, could not be at any given moment. If the early years of the twenty-first century have taught us anything about modern librarianship, it is that libraries constantly evolve to meet the demands of the communities they serve. Certainly that has been the case for the University of Toronto and its special collections department, the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library.

The development of the medieval manuscript collection at the University of Toronto is an important part of that story. The process by which the University developed this collection mirrors the shift in the institutional mandate from providing basic undergraduate support in the nineteenth century to support for a full range of graduate and postgraduate research services, especially in the years following the First World War. It is undeniable, however, that there was at times a haphazard character associated with this transformation. A tragic fire, a general international appeal for books, donations of material that did not directly support the core curriculum—such were the events that shaped the collection at the turn of the twentieth century. As time passed, however, the serendipitous gave way to an organized acquisitions policy as the University's central administration reconceived the crucial role of the library in establishing its international reputation as a centre for research excellence.

The Early Years

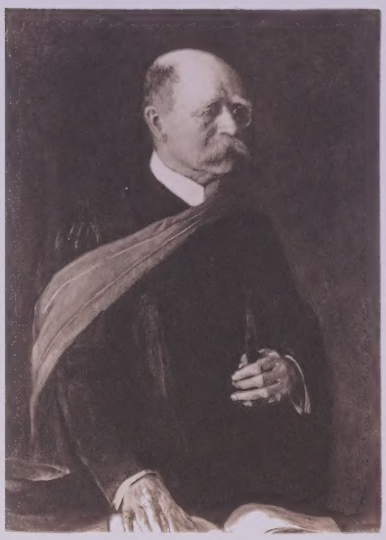
The library of the University of Toronto has its origins in King's College, the Anglican institution of higher learning founded in 1827 by the Rev. John Strachan (1778–1867), Archdeacon of York. In fact, the reference library at the college predates the arrival of the first students. Before leaving for London to obtain a royal charter from King George IV for his university, Strachan had budgeted £100 *per annum* to pay a librarian's wages, and while in England, he obtained a

Rev. John Strachan

donation of theological books worth £500 from the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge.[2] In 1850, when King's College was secularized, becoming the University of Toronto, the old college library was ceded to the new university and, in 1859, found a new home in what came to be known as the East Hall of University College. By 1890, the library housed some 33,000 volumes.

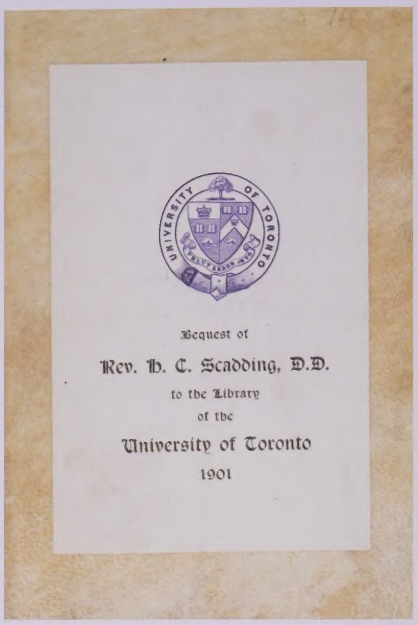
It has been argued that the best thing that ever happened to the University of Toronto's library was the fire that destroyed it on St Valentine's night of that year. Kerosene lamps, used to illuminate microscopes in a biology display in the library that evening, fell to the ground while being set up and the resulting fire quickly destroyed the building and all but about eight hundred of the books, along with the library register. Thus it is difficult to piece together the exact composition of the collection or to know whether the University actually held any medieval manuscripts by

Damage caused by the fire of 1890 that destroyed the University of Toronto's Library



William Henry van der Smissen, University Librarian at the time of the 1890 fire

1890. It certainly owned a manuscript from the Italian Renaissance, namely a fifteenth-century copy on vellum and paper of the Elegantiae linguae Latinae (Elegance of the Latin Language), written by the great humanist Lorenzo Valla (c. 1407–1457), that was indeed destroyed in the conflagration. (The manuscript's existence is attested to in the catalogue of the Caxton exhibition held in Montreal in 1877.)[3] While one strand of the tradition maintains that the holdings were mediocre, the evidence of the day was to the contrary. University Librarian William Henry van der Smissen (1844–1929) maintained that the collection was by then second in importance only to the Parliamentary Library and worth at least $100,000. President Daniel Wilson (1816–1892) assessed the destroyed volumes at $150,000.[4] Whatever their true value, the loss was immediately recognized for the tragedy it was, and on the day after the fire, gifts of books began to appear at the University, the first offered by local booksellers. The Government of Ontario granted $160,000 to the rebuilding project, while the Province of Quebec donated $10,000. A restoration committee was established in Canada as well as in England, with the British Prime Minister, the Lord Mayor of London, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster, the Vice-Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Principal Librarian of the British Library, as well as Alfred Lord Tennyson (1802–1892), as sitting members. As a result of their work, and of that of the various local committees, the books that were eventually donated were thought by many, whether rightly or not, to be infinitely better than the volumes the faculty had used until then. Among the donors were the King of Saxony, the King of Württemberg, the Prince of Monaco, the Viceroy of India, the German Kaiser, the Prince of Wales, and Queen Victoria (1819–1901).[5]



Rev. Canon Henry Scadding, with the bookplate used to identify items he bequeathed to the University

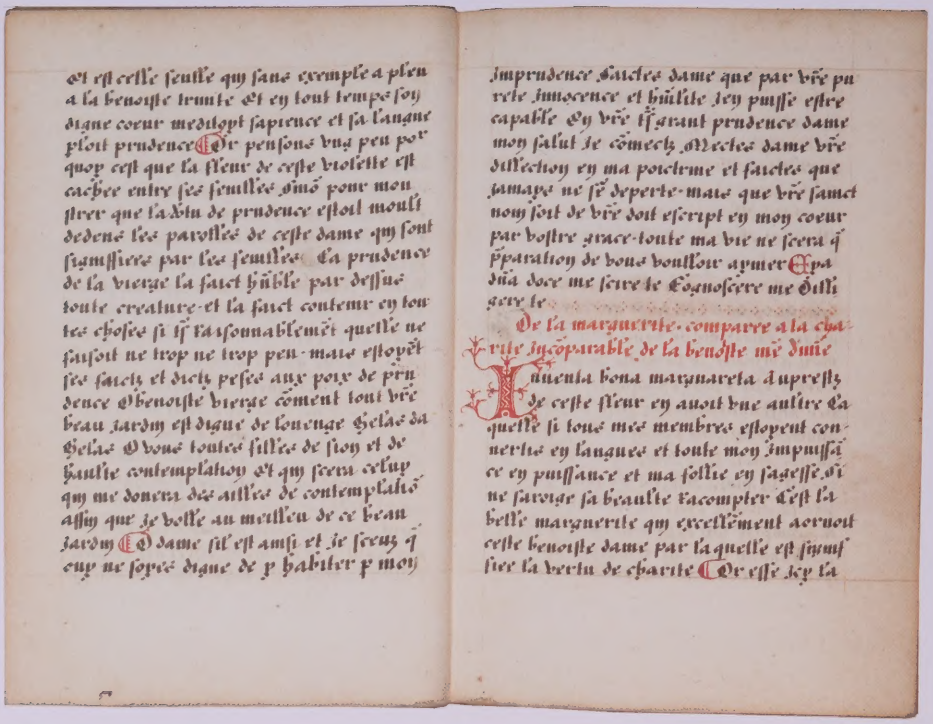
Canon Henry Scadding and the University Library

One person whose collection not only helped re-establish the library on a firmer footing but also provided a foundation for the medieval manuscript collection was the Rev. Canon Henry Scadding (1813–1901). Scadding was an author and an Anglican clergyman, best remembered today for his book *Toronto of Old* (1873). His family had moved from Devonshire to the town of York (now Toronto) in 1821, when he was eight years old, and he was the first boy enrolled at Upper Canada College when it opened in 1829. After graduation he returned to England, where he studied at St John's College, Cambridge, receiving his bachelor's degree in 1837.[6] It may have been during his years there that he caught the antiquarian bug, or even began to assemble the collection that eventually found a home in Toronto. After his death, two thousand books, including manuscripts, incunables, and other early printed books, were bequeathed to the University by his estate, among them two medieval copies, one in Greek and the other in Latin, of the four Gospels.

Scadding's Greek evangeliary, the so-called *Codex Torontonensis* (*Toronto Codex*), was transcribed in Constantinople about the year 1070 and is believed to be the earliest manuscript copy of the Greek Scriptures brought to Canada.[7] His

thirteenth-century Latin evangeliary is an excellent example of the plain, unembellished manuscripts that would have been commonly found in the hands of ordinary clerics. Scadding's copy, with its several prominent errors and erasures, is consistently popular with paleography and codicology students. A second Latin manuscript bequeathed by Scadding to the University's library harkens back to classical Rome. It is a copy of the *De Romanorum magistratibus* (*On the Magistracies of the Romans*), a work formerly attributed to the ancient Roman historian Fenestella (c. 52 BCE–c. 19 CE), who wrote during the reign of the Emperor Tiberius (42 BCE–37 CE). The work was actually compiled, however, by Andrea Fiocchi (c. 1400–c. 1452), a canon of the Roman church as well as a papal secretary. Written in a fifteenth-century hand, the manuscript offers opportunities for students to examine the transition from gothic to humanist scripts that was occurring in Italy during that century. Except for the first vellum leaf, the manuscript is written on paper, with the pages ruled in drypoint, a stylistic practice enjoying a renaissance after it had been effectively abandoned some three hundred years earlier. The book is bound in contemporaneous stamped leather over wooden boards with remains of clasps, which makes it a favourite for students interested in the evolution of binding styles.

The addition of these books to the collections during the early years of the library's recovery, together with later manuscripts from Scadding's private collection, such as his 1503 copy of *De regibus Hispaniae, Siciliae* (*On the Kings of Spain and Sicily*) by Michael Ricius (1445–1515) and his c. 1525 copy of the anonymous *Jardin de la Vierge* (*Garden of the Virgin*), should not be misconstrued. Their presence is more indicative of the antiquarian interests of one specific donor than of the start of a purposeful trend; indeed, Scadding's manuscript codices and incunables do not constitute a separate collection in the Fisher Library but are scattered throughout various collections according to their size. Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts clearly did not yet figure prominently in the consciousness of those responsible for collection development at the University of Toronto at the turn of the twentieth century. In his annual report to the Lieutenant-Governor for the year ending 30 June 1902, President James Loudon (1841–1916) specifically mentions the bequest of Canon Scadding's library; later in the document, H. H. Langton (1862–1953), the University Librarian at the time, lists a further eleven significant incunables and ten other early printed books from Scadding's collection, but he makes no mention of his valuable gift of manuscripts.[8] This may indicate that such items were viewed more as artefacts than as works for academic consultation. Certainly, the challenges they presented to standardized bibliographical control made them anomalies within the normal



Henry Scadding's copy of the Jardin de la Vierge, *c. 1525*

operations of a research library. In addition, there seemed little academic reason to increase the number of medieval manuscripts in the University's library holdings in the first half of the twentieth century, even after the establishment of the School of Graduate Studies in 1922. Course calendars from that year list no medieval history being taught at the graduate level. That same year, first-year undergraduates could select an introductory course on the subject, while second-year students were offered 'The Middle Ages: A General Study of Medieval Society and an Outline of the Principal Movements of the Period', but there were no similar courses for third- and fourth-year students. Specialized graduate courses in the field—'Europe: The Age of Transition, 1350–1450' and 'The Age of Wyclif'—first appear in 1961, and it was only with the establishment of the Centre for Medieval Studies in 1963 that a broad range of medieval courses finally featured.

The Impact of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies

Given that the academic need was still modest, it is perhaps not surprising that the development of a medieval manuscript collection at the University of Toronto was slow, as the surviving accession books testify. To a certain extent, the presence on the edge of the campus of the Roman Catholic Institute for Mediaeval Studies—it gained Pontifical status in 1939, becoming the Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies, or PIMS—may help explain this situation. The Institute was established in 1929 by the Basilian Fathers of St Michael's College as a place of higher learning, dedicated to the investigation of medieval society and institutions. Although an autonomous legal entity, it nonetheless collaborated with the secular University's School of Graduate Studies in offering some courses, a factor that may have lessened any sense of urgency about strengthening the University's own medieval holdings. The Institute had benefited from Basilian priests returning from their studies in Europe with early books in hand before the Second World War, although manuscripts were not among the treasures they brought home to Toronto at that time. When the Institute was originally founded, St Michael's College made a gift of two thousand titles, including monographs, periodicals, and reference works, to support the research needs of the new academic community.[9] That same year, microfilms of medieval manuscripts from various European libraries were acquired by the Institute's librarian, providing an essential resource for the paleography course introduced in 1930.[10] Ten years later, sixty thousand images of manuscripts were available for student and seminar use, images that now serve as an important archival record of the many books destroyed in Europe in the fires of the Second World War. Throughout the 1960s, the PIMS microfilm collection continued to expand and a photo-slide library, particularly geared towards the study of medieval art and architecture, was established over the same period.[11] These various reproductions were placed at the disposal of scholars, whether they were members of the Institute or not, and became essential resources for the students of the Centre for Medieval Studies once it was founded in 1963.

As far as actual manuscripts were concerned, two conjugate leaves from a twelfth-century French copy of *De gratia et libero arbitrio* (*On Grace and Free Choice*) by St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) were purchased from the Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin of Paris in 1934. A volume of Latin and Italian sermons, transcribed in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was purchased from the same dealer in 1943, midway through the Second World War.[12] With the Basilian Fathers' acquisition in 1974 of a thirteenth-century copy of *Super librum ethicorum Aristotelis libri X* (*Ten Books on Aristotle's Book of Ethics*) by St Thomas Aquinas (1222–1274), bought to commemorate the seven-hundredth anniversary

of the author's death, the number of actual manuscript volumes in the PIMS collection rose to grand total of three, a number that has since been increased more than tenfold.[13]

Establishment of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections and the Centre for Medieval Studies

After Scadding's initial bequest to the central library, the next medieval acquisition by the University was a collection of 190 vellum leaves dating from the fourth to the sixteenth centuries. It would appear to have been intended as a paleographical resource for the growing Department of History and was perhaps intended to supplement the microfilms housed at PIMS. The collection was purchased for £350 in the spring of 1952 from Charles F. Worel, an art and antiquarian book dealer in St John's Wood, London, who during the mid-century both sold and donated materials to such institutions as the British Museum, Harvard University, the University of Pennsylvania, and the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne. While the catalogue he produced for his sale to the University of Toronto has since been proven erroneous in several places by the many scholars who have compared its contents with the documents themselves, the collection still provides an abundance of exemplars for students being introduced to the finer points of uncial and semi-uncial, decorated initials, minuscule scripts, and even Coptic paleography. The collection, which was listed and extensively described in the De Ricci census of 1962, was housed in what was prosaically called the 'Art Room Cupboard' in the Chief Librarian's office—its original shelf mark was A.R.C. XVIII—where it remained with the earlier Scadding volumes for three more years. (In addition to the medieval manuscripts, the cupboard was also used to store materials deemed obscene or pornographic, such as books containing illustrations by Aubrey Beardsley (1872–1898).) Its classification in the library catalogue makes it abundantly clear that as late as the 1950s medieval manuscript material was still viewed principally as artefactual rather than as textual. Unfortunately, no records survive indicating how such materials were used or who was granted access to them, though, given their location, such permission must have been highly restricted.

It was only in 1955, 128 years after the founding of the University and sixty-five years after the devastating fire, that a Department of Rare Books and Special Collections was finally established. This was not just a serendipitous event: it was part of the University's concerted efforts to focus on and develop graduate programmes, culminating in the establishment of the Centre for Medieval Studies in 1963. That same year, Marion Brown, the first Head of Rare Books and

Marion Brown, the first Head of Rare Books and Special Collections

Special Collections,[14] examined the medieval manuscripts then housed at the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) at the request of Robert Blackburn (1919–2019), Chief Librarian of the University of Toronto. The manuscripts were, at that time, under the jurisdiction of Lionel Massey (1916–1965), the ROM's Director of Administration. Miss Brown's initial report to him and to the Chief Librarian, made after what she describes as a 'rather quick survey' on 26 March, noted that 'there is a very considerable amount of older and definitely valuable material which cannot be taken care of properly in the existing library quarters because of lack of humidity controls, temperature controls, and proper book cases'.[15] She observed that the vellum leaves of two manuscripts were curling, owing to heat fluctuations and low humidity. Some items were apparently on display, but were mounted in such a way that 'there is no allowance for expansion or contraction of the vellum as moisture and heat conditions change within the case'. Her report is a call to arms of sorts, describing 'really beautiful bindings' that 'are deteriorating both as a result of dryness and lack of sufficient staff to oil and care for them'; she describes leaves of an early Aldine edition that have been attacked by dry rot and draws attention to bindings not properly supporting large manuscripts because

they are housed improperly. 'The most serious question', she writes, 'is whether the light has been properly filtered to prevent fading since fluorescent lighting produces noticeable fading within two weeks and it would be a tragedy if these lovely miniatures were to lose the brightness which they have preserved for several centuries in other conditions.'

Miss Brown's report then goes on to identify particular manuscript items in the ROM's collections that would be of considerable value to the University, particularly in the realm of Italian *rime*, as well as early printed Bibles, alchemical works, and incunables, 'which would certainly have a much wider use if they were in the central collection'. It is clear from her comments that a transition was finally starting to take place within the academic consciousness at the University: the medieval manuscripts and early printed books on campus were no longer being viewed primarily, or exclusively, as mere artefacts, but as necessary research tools. She ends her report with the foresightful comment that they would indeed be useful for those 'who are interested in the development of printing', foreshadowing the evolution of a Book History programme that eventually took place in the final years of the twentieth century.

The ROM's response to Miss Brown's report was unusually swift. On 2 April 1963, Massey wrote to Claude Bissell (1916–2000), President of the University, expressing the opinion that it 'would be advantageous to the Museum and its Staff' if the ROM library were to become a branch of the University's library system.[16] He also confirmed that he shared Miss Brown's concerns for the care of the medieval manuscripts then housed at the ROM, admitting 'we are not in a position here to look after these library treasures adequately and they are deteriorating at an alarming rate'. He describes their use at the ROM as 'intermittent' and concedes that their transfer to the new Department of Rare Books and Special Collections would ensure greater access, with little inconvenience to the ROM's curators. This transfer of 'treasures', however, was not to include the materials then in the Far East Library.

On 20 December 1963, Blackburn reported back to President Bissell that an agreement had been reached with the ROM by which 'rare books and manuscripts which are not in frequent use at the Museum, and which in the opinion of the Head of our Rare Books and Special Collections Department could be preserved and used more effectively in the Rare Books Room of the Central Library, will be moved accordingly'.[17] Blackburn went on to note that some of these materials had already been transferred. He also confirmed that, as of 1 July 1964, 'the purchase of books for the ROM Library will be handled through the Acquisition Department of the Central Library', effectively making the ROM's

library a branch of the University's central administration, as Massey had earlier suggested. In spite of the fact that some of these new arrangements would have been contentious, Blackburn concludes his report by pointing out that 'Mr. Massey has seen the wording of the proposals, and approves of it'.[18]

The various reports, negotiations, and decisions concerning the final disposition of medieval manuscripts between the Royal Ontario Museum and the University of Toronto must be understood against the politics of the day. Tensions between the University and the ROM were reaching a climax about this time as the two institutions, which had been united since 1912, were careening towards a divorce that would finally become official in 1968. It is surely no coincidence that Miss Brown's report appeared in 1963, the very same year that the University's new Centre for Medieval Studies was established. The University was preparing to provide effective, long-term research support for the new Centre, with accessibility to resources as one of the key parts of the plan. It is not surprising, therefore, that shortly after her recommendations had been approved, a number of precious manuscripts were transferred to Rare Books and Special Collections for the future use of graduates, with the first arriving in the spring of 1964.

The earliest manuscript to be transferred was a massive Florentine antiphonal dating from the fifteenth century and accessioned by Rare Books and Special Collections on 24 April 1964. Of the thirteen manuscripts listed in the *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* as being in the Royal Ontario Museum in 1962,[19] nine were transferred to the University's Department of Rare Books and Special Collections between 1964 and 1975, with three—a mid-thirteenth-century copy of the *Sententiae* (*Sentences*) of Peter Lombard (c. 1096–1160), a late-fourteenth-century book of hours, and an early-fifteenth-century book of hours (use of Arras)—actually arriving after the legal separation of the two institutions. Among the more interesting was the second manuscript to be transferred from the ROM: an early-fifteenth-century book of hours in Dutch that was accessioned in May 1964. This book, which is hereafter described in greater detail (no. 42 in this catalogue), is an early expression of *devotio moderna* spirituality and an important testimony to the renewal of Christianity already taking place in Northern Europe on the eve of the Reformation.[20] As such, it is regularly consulted not only by scholars and students from the Centre for Medieval Studies and the Department for the Study of Religion, but also those at the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, the Department of History, and various modern language departments.

Responding to Evolving Research Needs: Vernacular Texts

Recent years have seen increasing demand from faculty and students for vernacular medieval manuscripts, but these have generally proven the most difficult to acquire. Owing to their scarcity and desirability, they are expensive, and when they do appear on the market they are very quickly purchased, especially by institutions in their countries of origin. For that reason, it is imperative that dealers' catalogues, especially those issued online, be examined and acted upon as soon as they are published. With the exception of the Fisher Library's extensive Hebrew holdings, about which more later, comparatively few manuscripts in the current holdings contain vernacular text and, not surprisingly, the majority date from the late Middle Ages. Many early vernacular manuscripts were acquired by private collectors and rare book libraries, especially in the United States, in the early twentieth century, long before the University of Toronto became involved in this area of collection. Nevertheless, it is a gap that is being filled whenever possible: in 2013, the Library purchased a late-fifteenth-century copy of the *Imitatio Christi* (*Imitation of Christ*) in Italian; in 2017, a fine, and very large, late-fourteenth-century copy of the *Roman de la rose* (*Romance of the Rose*); an early-fourteenth-century copy of the medieval bestseller the *Secret des secrez* (*Secret of Secrets*) and a beautifully illustrated, late-fifteenth-century copy of a Middle French treatise on heraldry followed in 2018; and, most recently, a late-fifteenth-century copy of the *Livre de paix* (*Book of Peace*) by Christine de Pizan (1364–c. 1430), a late-fifteenth century book of hours in Middle Low German, and an early-sixteenth-century copy of a collection of Middle French rondeaux were all added to the collections in 2019.

The occasional discovery of fragments of vernacular text, found in such places as the sewing guards of early modern books, continues to be a source of delight and excitement. In 1981, for example, the Fisher Library acquired a copy of the first edition of the *Rosa Anglica practica medicine* (*English Rose, or Practical Medicine*) by John of Gaddesden (1280–1361), printed in Pavia in 1491. The book was in a contemporaneous binding, with pastedowns composed of Latin manuscript waste. It was the front flyleaf, however, made from two pieces of vellum waste sewn together, that immediately attracted the attention of librarians, who recognized vernacular text, clearly in a Germanic language. Professor Hartwig Mayer (1937–) of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures determined it to be a Middle Dutch copy of the didactic poem *Die Dietsche doctrinale* (*The Dutch Schoolbook*) transcribed in a Gothic textura script in West Flanders about the year 1350, only five years after the poem was originally composed. Further examination of the text by Father Leonard Boyle (1923–1999), OP, deter-

Manuscript fragment of Die Dietsche doctrinale *(right) preserved as the flyleaf of John Gaddesden's* Rosa Anglica

mined that the fragment (1.326–2.81) was in fact the oldest surviving instance of this important early vernacular text.[21] A similar event occurred in 2012. While books in the gifts backlog were being catalogued, a pastedown made from a fourteenth-century leaf of medieval French manuscript waste was found in the mid-sixteenth-century binding of a rather unremarkable volume of commentaries on the decretals of Pope Boniface VIII (c. 1230–1303). Upon due examination, Professor Corinne Denoyelle of the Department of French determined the pastedown to be part of a copy of the *Roman de Merlin* (*Romance of Merlin*), probably written in Picardy and containing a fragment of the Arthurian story of the wedding of Uther Pendragon and Igerne, together with the revelation of Igerne's pregnancy.[22] Such events validate the time-consuming, but ultimately rewarding, practice of noting the presence of manuscript fragments and early printer's waste, in whatever form they may appear, when doing the initial bibliographical investigation and creating the online descriptions for early modern books.

Manuscript fragment of the Roman de Merlin *preserved in the binding of a collection of commentaries on the decretals of Pope Boniface VIII*

The Friedberg Hebrew Manuscript Collection

Among the largest and most important additions to the Fisher Library's vernacular medieval holdings was a donation of Hebrew manuscripts made in 1996 by the Toronto currency trader and bibliophile Albert D. Friedberg. The original deposit consisted of thirty-five manuscript volumes, three dozen Genizah fragments, and a hundred early printed books. A number of the manuscripts were originally part of the library of the great educator, rabbi, and antiquarian David Solomon Sassoon (1915–1985). Friedberg MSS 3-002 has the distinction of being the oldest manuscript volume in the Fisher Library. This copy of the *Sefer Halakhot pesuḳot* (*Book of Decided Laws*), a legal text that covers the broad sweep of the Jewish legal tradition and that is ascribed to Yehudai ben Naḥman (fl. 757–761), dates from the tenth century. As with other manuscripts in the Friedberg Collection, it is remarkable that this manuscript survives at all, let alone in so near a state of completion, given its frequent consultation over the centuries, as well as the vicissitudes of war, pogroms, and natural disasters that have resulted in the loss of so many important Hebrew books.

Another particularly noteworthy survivor, and another item that once belonged to Sassoon, is one of the few signed medieval manuscripts now at the Fisher Library. It is a complete copy of the Hebrew Scriptures that includes the *Masorah* and records in the colophon the name of its scribe, Joseph ben Judas ibn Merwas (fl. 1300–1334), who completed the text in Toledo in the month of Kislev 5068 (December 1307). The Friedberg Collection also includes a highly decorated thirteenth-century copy of the Prophets, also of Spanish provenance, with carpet pages containing the *Masorah*. Two thirteenth-century commentaries by Rashi (1040–1105), made in the German-speaking territories, complement these scriptural texts, along with works by the exegete David Kimhi (1160–1235) and the sixteenth-century kabbalist Solomon Alkabetz (c. 1500–1576). Arguably the most important Hebrew manuscript at the Fisher Library, however, is a copy of the *Sefer ha-Zohar* (*Book of Splendour*), considered the pre-eminent work of Jewish mysticism, of which very few complete copies exist. Dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Friedberg manuscript in fact contains the earliest complete copy of this seminal work, the only two earlier copies being fragmentary. For scholars of the Jewish mystical tradition, therefore, and for students who are interested in the history of textual transmission, this copy of the *Zohar* is an indispensable tool for primary source research at a number of levels. Lastly, the Friedberg collection of Hebrew incunables extends the culture of the Middle Ages into the era of the printing press, with several books printed in Hebrew characters that appeared before 1501, including a 1484 edition of *Mivhar ha-peninim* (*Choice of Pearls*) by Solomon ibn Gabirol (1021/1022–1070), a 1485 edition of David Kimhi's *Nevi'im rishonim 'im perush Radaḳ* (*Former Prophets, with the Commentary of Raḍak*), and a 1491 edition of *Sefer ha-maḥbarot* (*Book of Poems*) by Immanuel ben Solomon (1261–1328).[23]

Emergence of a Collection Development Strategy

Over the past fifteen years, more manuscripts have been added annually to the Fisher's shelves than was the case in the past, and these have principally been acquired by purchase. Today, the library holds some ninety-five bound medieval manuscripts from Europe and well over two hundred individual leaves and charters. With the exception of the collection's medieval Jewish manuscripts, the majority of which, as noted, have come from a single donor, the rest have been recommended by dealers with whom the Fisher's librarians have built relationships over the years. Regular discussions, both in person and through written communication, have helped vendors formulate a profile for the Library and

identify areas of particular interest. While funding may not always be immediately available when a particular manuscript of interest appears on the market, it has become the practice to record the title on a 'wish-list' to which the librarians return at the end of the fiscal year, when so-called one-time-only purchases become more feasible. Despite the recent decline in the purchasing power of the Canadian dollar, the central library administration has become increasingly active in making these significant purchases of materials from the Middle Ages, a recognition of the fact that the expansion of the University's medieval collections remains an important objective.

Currently, the process for developing the University's medieval manuscript collection begins with the identification of lacunae that still exist, something that proceeds almost organically from discussions with faculty, reflecting their current research interests and the ways in which manuscripts are used in their classes. In the past, manuscripts were most frequently consulted by students in three core subject areas: Latin paleography, medieval codicology, and medieval liturgy, all sponsored by the Centre for Medieval Studies. In order to supply materials that complement classroom instruction in paleography, it has been imperative to select manuscript codices that display a variety of national hands across the time period from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries—codices from earlier centuries are all but impossible to find—with an eye to the more obscure whenever possible. Some hands, like the Beneventan, for example, still prove to be elusive. Transitional hands are particularly important to acquire, especially those dating from the transition to gothic scripts in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, as well as humanist hands that reflect the transition away from gothic at the close of the Middle Ages.

Codicology students are, of course, always interested in books housed in contemporaneous medieval bindings, which not surprisingly are very difficult to locate after seven or eight hundred years of use. Spines and hinges are the most difficult to preserve, and for the few codices that still retain them, the amount of intervention that the Library's conservation staff can or should invest to preserve these features is a matter of debate. Introducing twenty-first century materials into seven-hundred-year-old books may, on the one hand, decrease their value; on the other hand, lack of intervention can see the books withdrawn from use and, unfortunately, restrictions on access to several books in contemporaneous bindings has already become a necessity. In recent years, however, the Library has intentionally bought manuscripts that would normally be considered defective, precisely because their spine covers, clasps, leather coverings, ornaments, and the like are missing. Such manuscripts have proven to be

excellent research and teaching resources, since they provide scholars and students with the opportunity to examine typical quire and sewing structures, binding techniques, and methods of leather tooling and stamping in an actual medieval book without fear of causing further damage. Being less desirable in the marketplace, such defective manuscripts also have the advantage of being less expensive.

Miscellany of Texts for the Order of Friars Minor, *c. 1410, with sewing structure exposed*

In the area of medieval liturgy, antiphonaries, matins lectionaries, a missal, a gradual, a processional, and a psalter have been added to the Fisher Library's already strong collection of books of hours and breviaries. Contrary to its normal practice, the Library recently acquired an illuminated French book of hours from the mid-fifteenth century as a deluxe example of that genre. This purchase was somewhat unusual since preference is generally given to the acquisition of plain text manuscripts rather than more obviously luxurious ones, not only because of the cost but also because the latter are not the typical medieval books that students and faculty are most interested in studying. Art History is the only department at the University that would directly benefit from the more routine acquisition of illuminated and decorated manuscripts. To meet its needs, high-quality facsimiles of some of the more sumptuous manuscripts preserved in the great European libraries continue to be purchased and housed in Rare Books and Special Collections rather than in the open stacks. Such exact facsimiles not only reproduce the texts, but the artefact itself, with careful attention given to every aspect of the original's materiality.

The selection process is also informed by the fact that we wish to avoid overuse of any single manuscript that happens to be one of only a few that demonstrate a particular script, style of *mise-en-page*, or similar feature. For example, the Fisher Library's copy of Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*, executed in England or France in the late thirteenth century, is particularly popular with faculty and students owing to its interesting layout as well as the number of early annotations throughout. For those who are interested in the transmission and reception of

text, this book is a perfect exemplar. The problem, however, is that such manuscripts become subject to wear after two generations of students have examined them closely. Fifteen years ago, the plain, nineteenth-century binding on the *Sententiae* was tight and the volume could be held open only by means of book weights, whereas today it opens without any resistance, and the time may come when its use will have to be restricted. Ideally, more manuscripts of its kind should be added to the Library's holdings.

Beyond the traditional disciplines of codicology and Latin paleography, the medieval manuscripts in the collection are finding new uses and purposes owing to the growth of Book History as a discipline at the University of Toronto. Both undergraduate and graduate students working in this field are approaching the medieval manuscript from a slightly different perspective to those who came before them. They are turning to the collection in order to understand the material, cultural, and theoretical aspects of medieval books within the context of the society that produced them, as well as the implications, both then and now, of the multiple aspects of the creation, transmission, and reception of the written word. They are encouraged to approach manuscripts as artefacts that are part of a continuum reaching down to the Kindle, Kobo, and iPad. The result of their interaction with the Fisher's manuscripts can be surprising and even startling. One student, inspired by one of the Library's illuminated books of hours, created his own from scratch, beginning the process at an abattoir north of Toronto. There he acquired the carcass of a sheep and, following medieval practices, made parchment in his own backyard. The result was a beautifully-bound, original work of art. Another student, like so many other scholars before her, puzzled over the Fisher Library's Florentine antiphonal, mentioned above. Knowing how it had been used (and, perhaps, abused) over time, she made a new 'medieval' manuscript as part of her final assignment in the course. Using George Michael's song 'Careless Whisper' as her text rather than one of the Church's antiphons, she offered her own *hommage* to the manuscript's medieval past as well as its later (and some might argue injudicious) use. In such cases, students learn about the process of manuscript creation firsthand while simultaneously discovering parallels to twenty-first-century modes of communication.

Another patron of the library, Sylvia Ptak, a graphic artist whose medium is fabric art, took several of the manuscripts as inspiration for an exhibition entitled *Commentary*. In it, she matched her stitching with the books that had inspired it, earning for the library the Katharine Keyes Leab and Daniel J. Leab American Book Prices Current Exhibition Catalogue Award for 2005. There is no effort on the artist's part to reproduce the text faithfully; instead, she offers an impression

of the medieval manuscript in cloth and thread. All of these examples demonstrate that, whatever the Library's original intentions may be when acquiring medieval manuscripts, they do not always match the imagination of their users.

Looking towards the future, the Fisher Library faces several challenges in the quest to expand and develop its medieval holdings. Unfortunately, restrictions may become increasingly necessary in order to preserve the integrity of overused volumes. Their preservation will be partly assisted by ongoing digitization projects, although at present, a suitable preservation infrastructure and a user-centred interface for access are still under development. For those interested in the materiality of these artefacts, of course, this is not an acceptable solution. In addition, the generally high cost of these manuscripts, combined with the fluctuation in the value of the Canadian dollar, will test both the Library's commitment and its resources. For that reason, it will be essential that the Library's staff do their due diligence when justifying the choice of one particular manuscript as more desirable than a less expensive one, explaining what need it supplies in the current collections, and what its acquisition means to the reputation of the University.

It will also become necessary to expand the Fisher's impressive medieval holdings beyond their century-long focus on European manuscripts and to begin to encompass the literary record of other cultures active in the same period, such as (but not limited to) those that emerged from the Islamic, Buddhist, and Hindu worlds. As scholars come to understand and appreciate the interrelatedness of all of these societies, their particular manuscript records will be integral to telling a fuller story of human thought and activity during a most important era of transition. All of this is to say that, while we stand on the shoulders of giants and build on the 120-year-old legacy of the librarians at the University of Toronto, there is still much collecting work to be done. While our librarian predecessors might be amazed to see the growth in this valuable resource from such humble beginnings, and while they might be equally surprised to see how their acquisitions are now being used, we are certainly grateful for their foresight, which has brought the Fisher Library to the enviable position in which it finds itself today. This exhibition, therefore, is as much a celebration of them as it is of the manuscripts themselves.

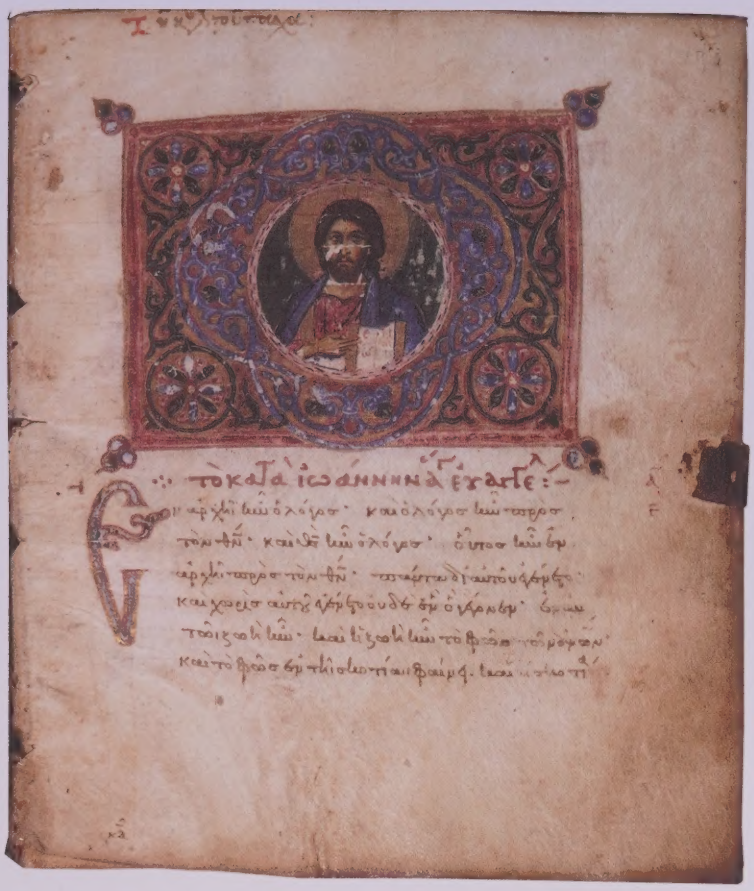
Upper Level

CASE I:
SCRIPTURE

The texts of Scripture—the Hebrew Bible (or Old Testament) and the New Testament—are, of course, the foundational texts of both Judaism (the former canon) and Christianity (both canons). The Hebrew Bible tells the story of the formation and history of the Israelite people and is the basis for Jewish law, practice, prayer and ethics, and the New Testament contains the story of the life and crucifixion of Jesus, the formation of the early Christian community and the epistles of some of its founders.

While obviously none of the original manuscripts of any of the Biblical books is extant—in fact, the date of authorship of many of them is debated—because they were so foundational they were copied countless times in antiquity and in the medieval period. Originally, in antiquity, the texts were written on scrolls of papyrus or parchment, and, in fact, in Jewish tradition the Torah (Pentateuch) and the Book of Esther are still written on parchment scrolls for liturgical reading in the synagogue. The earliest surviving Biblical manuscripts are from the Dead Sea Scrolls, a trove of Jewish texts that dates from the end of the third century BCE to the first century CE and that were found in caves next to the ruins of Qumran, a site in the Judean Desert near the Dead Sea. Among the great variety of texts found in the caves are hundreds of scrolls and scroll fragments of all of the books of the Hebrew Bible, apart from Esther and Nehemiah. Likewise, the earliest surviving texts of the New Testament are fragmentary remains on papyri, the earliest of which date to the late second century CE. They were found in Egypt—in the large trove of papyri found at Oxyrhynchus, for example—and survived due to the dry climate.

Unlike the early Hebrew Biblical scrolls and scroll fragments, most of the papyri fragments of the New Testament are remains of texts written in the codex format rather than the scroll or roll. In fact, Christian scribes adopted (perhaps invented?) the codex format as early as the third, maybe even second, century CE. The earliest complete manuscripts of the New Testament date from the fourth century, however, while the earliest extant codices of the Hebrew Bible are from the tenth century CE, of which perhaps the most famous is the Aleppo Codex. The Fisher Library's Friedberg Collection includes one Hebrew Bible codex from this period.



1 ***The Four Gospels in Greek: Codex Torontonensis.*** **Constantinople? c. 1070.**

This small Greek manuscript, often known as the *Codex Torontonensis*, was most likely transcribed in Constantinople around the year 1070. The four Gospels comprise the main portion of the volume, with the last thirty-five leaves containing the synaxarium and menology (essentially the martyrology) of the Eastern Orthodox Church. The New Testament was originally written in a common form of Greek known as *koine*, and it was to volumes such as this one that the Renaissance humanists turned in their quest to provide the first modern vernacular translations of the Christian Scriptures. The binding of the book is essentially contemporaneous, with black leather over wooden boards. The text is written on coarse, thick vellum in a Greek minuscule script which displays Syrian influence.[24] The ruling, which is particularly evident on the page facing the

beginning of St John's Gospel, is in hardpoint, meaning the lines which guide the writing of the text are scored into the parchment in blind using a stylus or the back of a knife. The decoration, though restrained, is colourful, with a partially illuminated headpiece in the Byzantine style at the beginning of each Gospel.[25] Interestingly, the story of the woman caught in adultery (John 7:53–8:11) is omitted from the main text, but is supplied by a thirteenth-century hand in the margin. This purposeful omission reflects the fact that as late as the eleventh century there was unease with the authenticity of this particular Gospel story, which does not appear in the earliest manuscripts of the New Testament and certainly does not originally belong to the Gospel of John. In fact, some ancient New Testaments place it after Luke 21:38.[26] The critical process of determining which Greek families of texts, with their divergent readings, should form the basis of modern recensions of the Scriptures led to the development of the *Textus Receptus*, the text found in the printed editions of the Greek New Testament that appeared in the late Renaissance and provided the translation base for Luther (1483–1546), Tyndale (c. 1494–1536), and other Reformation-era Biblical scholars.[27] The Gospels presented here have their own unique internal structures, with Matthew divided into sixty-eight chapters, Mark into forty-eight, Luke into eighty-three, and John into eighteen.

The *Codex* was purchased from an English antiquarian book dealer by the Toronto Anglican priest and scholar Henry Scadding (1813–1901) in about 1890. Scadding in turn bequeathed the book, together with his whole library, to the University of Toronto upon his death. This particular volume formed part of the exhibition commemorating the tercentenary of the King James Bible sponsored by the Upper Canada Bible Society and held from 13–25 February 1911 in Toronto. It has the added distinction of being the first Greek manuscript of the four Gospels to have been brought to Canada.[28]

2 *Ketuvim*. Spain? 13th century.

This manuscript contains the Hebrew text of the *Ketuvim* (the Writings or Hagiographia), which completes the traditional three-part structuring of the Hebrew Bible: Pentateuch, Prophets, Writings. It includes Psalms, Job, Proverbs, the five *megillot* (Ruth, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, and Esther), Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Chronicles. The first three leaves are slightly mutilated and the last thirteen verses of Divre ha-yamim (Chronicles) are missing. Likewise, the colophon, if there was one, did not survive.

The manuscript, which dates from the thirteenth century, is written on vellum

in a Sephardic hand and was thus probably transcribed in the Iberian Peninsula. David Stern (1949–) writes: 'the masoretic Bible appears to have been the most commonly-composed type of Bible produced in Spain. Spanish Hebrew Bibles were famous in the Middle Ages for their accuracy, both because their scribes were especially known for their skill as copyists, and on account of the Spanish proclivity for Biblical Hebrew as evidenced in the linguistic and philological studies.'[29]

The order of the five *megillot* (or scrolls) is chronological-historical and is considered to be the order common among the Masoretes and in Sephardic manuscripts. The other main sequence, common in Ashkenazi manuscripts and in printed Bibles, follows the order of the festivals during which they are read in synagogues: Song of Songs (Passover); Ruth (Pentecost); Lamentations (9 Av); Ecclesiastes (Tabernacles); and Esther (Purim).[30]

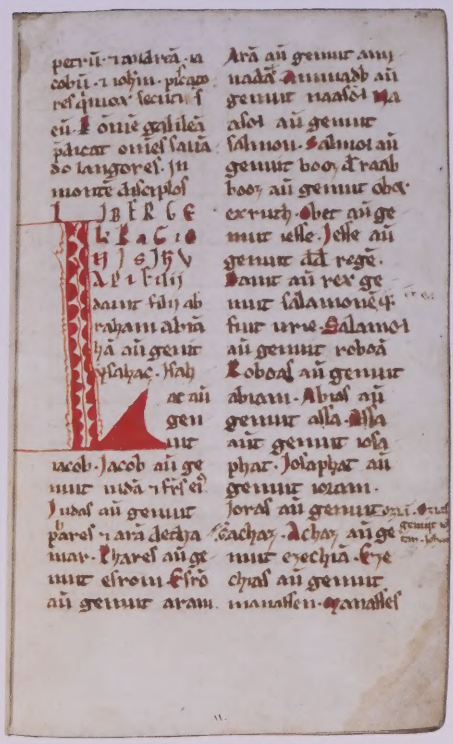
This is a comparatively plain manuscript, without the illuminations and decorations of many other Sephardic Masoretic Bibles of this era.[31] There is use of only dark ink, and no other colors. The most elaborate decoration is found in the micrographic *Masorah* in the margins.[32] *Magna* ('great') and *minora* ('lesser') *Masorah* are composed in micrography in margins above, below, and beside the text (in the outer margin). This intricate micrography often creates a sort of frame for the text on the two open pages, which was a feature of Sephardic Masoretic Bibles.[33] Some of the *Masorah* in the outer margin is written in decorative patterns such as zigzags (as, for example, on leaves 121, 137, and 145).

The text is written with two columns on each page, apart from Psalms and Job, which are written in two running columns (i.e., the line from the right hand column continues to the left-hand column before continuing to the next line). There are no headings for the individual books nor a running title, apart from for Job, for which there is a running title at the top of each page, with the name of the book and the chapter numbers. These appear to be in a different, probably later, hand. For the other books, the beginnings of new chapters are noted in the margins, apparently also in a different hand.

There are corrections in different ink on leaf 121, Proverbs 29:12, where "al sfat sheker' ('if a ruler listens to language/a speech of falsehood') is corrected to "al dvar sheker' ('to falsehood', literally 'a thing of falsehood') and on leaf 122, Proverbs 30:15, where "arb'a' ('four') is corrected to 've-'arb'a' ('and four'). In the latter case, however, the correction does not accord with the common Masoretic text (though, interestingly, it does accord with the Septuagint version) while the original text does.

3 *Liber quatuor evangelistarum*. Avignon? c. 1220.

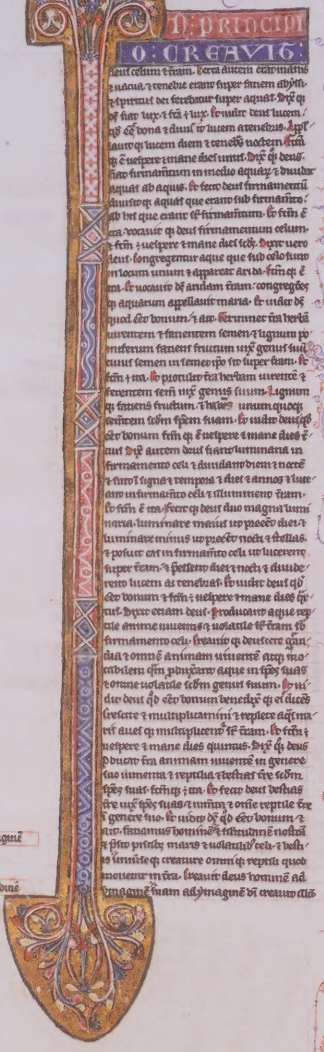
This thirteenth-century Gospel book is an excellent example of a plain, unembellished manuscript of a kind that would commonly have been found in the hands of ordinary clerics. According to Christopher de Hamel (1950–), it originally belonged to either a Franciscan or a Dominican house at Avignon, but certainly formed part of the Maurist monastic library of St-André at Avignon by the seventeenth century. Written in an uneven Gothic minuscule script on parch-



ment, the book is also a fine example of medieval scribal arts. The edges of the pages retain the pricking marks used to guide the original ruling, which is still clearly visible on the displayed pages. The only decoration is the larger red capitals used at the beginning of the books, prologues, and divisions. The manuscript does not appear to have been affected by Parisian standardization efforts, since the chapters remain unnumbered according to any system. In fact, the syntax and word order in several places agree with the Old Latin Bible that predated the Vulgate of St Jerome (c. 345–420), which is not as unusual as one might think for a manuscript of such a late date. The English monk Alcuin of York (d. 804) had, on the orders of Charlemagne (747–814), assumed responsibility for the production of a more standardized version of Jerome's Vulgate to replace the numerous manuscript variants still in circulation throughout the Holy Roman Empire at the time; nevertheless, it took centuries for Alcuin's version to achieve general acceptance. It was only with the establishment of the universities in the thirteenth century that the 'Alcuin Bibles' finally became the ordinary text of the scholastic world.[34] It was not until the Biblical revisions of Popes Sixtus V (1520–1590) and Clement VIII (1536–1605), however, that these variant readings were finally harmonized in what became the official text of the Roman Catholic Church.[35]

4 *Biblia Latina.* Canterbury, c. 1220–1228.

This Vulgate Bible was transcribed and illuminated in the Diocese of Canterbury between the years 1220 and 1228. Although the text block was cropped during an eighteenth-century rebinding, the basic size and minuscule script seen here were typical of those single-volume 'pandects' preferred by the new mendicant orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans. The dramatically cramped writing (which was noted as a novelty even in its own day) and almost impossibly thin parch-



IN PRINCIPIO CREAVIT

leuit celum ⁊ ram. Terra autem erat inanis
⁊ uacua ⁊ tenebe erant super faciem abyssi
⁊ spūs dei ferebat super aquas. Dixit q
ds fiat lux. ⁊ fta ē lux. Et uidit deus lucem
q ē bona ⁊ diuisit lucem a tenebris. Appellauit q lucem diem ⁊ tenebras nocte. Fuitq ē uespere ⁊ mane dies unus. Dixit q deus. Fiat firmamentum in medio aquaꝝ ⁊ diuidat aquas ab aquis. Et fecit deus firmamentū diuisitq aquas que erant sub firmamento ab his que erant sup firmamentum. Et fta ē ita. Vocauit q deus firmamentum celum. Et fta ē uespere ⁊ mane dies secūs. Dixit q deus. Congregentur aque que sub celo sunt in locum unum ⁊ appareat arida. Fta ē ita. Et uocauit dē aridam terram. congregationesq aquarum appellauit maria. Et uidit dē quod ēet bonum. ⁊ ait. Germinet terra herbā uirentem ⁊ faciētem semen ⁊ lignum pomiferum faciens fructum iux genus suum cuius semen in semetipso sit super terram. Et fta ē ita. Et protulit terra herbam uirentē ⁊ faciētem semē iux genus suum. lignumq faciens fructum. cuius unumquodq semen in ipsum genus suum. Et uidit deus q ēet bonum. ⁊ fact uespere ⁊ mane dies tertius. Dixit q deus. Fiant luminaria in firmamento celi ⁊ diuidant diem ⁊ nocte ⁊ sint in signa ⁊ tempora ⁊ dies ⁊ annos. ⁊ luceant in firmamento celi ⁊ illuminent terram. Et fta ē ita. Fecit q deus duo magna luminaria. luminare maius ut preēet diei ⁊ luminare minus ut preēet nocti ⁊ stellas. Et posuit eas in firmamento celi ut lucerent super terram. ⁊ preēent diei ac nocti. ⁊ diuidерent lucem ac tenebras. Et uidit deus q ēet bonum. ⁊ fact uespere ⁊ mane dies quar-
tus. Dixit q deus. Producant aque rep-
tile anime uiuentis. ⁊ uolatile sup terram. sub firmamento celi. Creauitq deus cete grandia. ⁊ omnē animā uiuentē atq; motabilem quā produxerāt aque in spēs suas. ⁊ omne uolatile secūm genus suum. Et uidit deus q ēet bonum benedixitq ei dicens. Crescite ⁊ multiplicamini. ⁊ replete aquas maris. auesq; multiplicentur sup terram. Et fta ē uespere ⁊ mane dies quintus. Dixit q deus. Producat terra animam uiuentem in genere suo. iumenta. ⁊ reptilia. ⁊ bestias terre secūm spēs suas. Factumq; ē ita. Et fecit deus bestias terre iux spēs suas. ⁊ iumenta. ⁊ omne reptile terre ⁊ genere suo. Et uidit dē quia ēet bonum. ⁊ ait. Faciamus hominem ad ymaginem nostrā ⁊ similitudinem nostrā. ⁊ psit pisibus maris. ⁊ uolatilibus celi. ⁊ bestiis uniuerseq; creature omni q reptili quod mouetur in terra. Creauit deus hominē ad ymaginē suam ad ymaginē dī creauit illū

ad ymagine
? eū
? masculum

masculum ⁊ feminam creauit eos. Benedixitq; illis dī. ⁊ ait. Crescite ⁊ multiplicamini ⁊ replete terram ⁊ subiacte eam. ⁊ dominamini pisibus maris. ⁊ uolatilibus celi. ⁊ uniuersis animantib; que mouentur sup terram. Dixit q deus. Ecce dedi uob omnem herbam afferentem semen sup terram. ⁊ uniuersa ligna que habent in semet ipsis semen generis sui. ut sint uob in escam. ⁊ cunctis animantib; terre. omniq; uolucri celi. ⁊ uniuersis que mouentur in terra. quib; anima uita ut habeant ad uescendū. Et fta ē ita. Vidit q deus cuncta que fecerat. ⁊ erant ualde bona. Et fuit uespere ⁊ mane dies sextus.

III

Igitur perfecti sunt celi ⁊ terra. ⁊ omnis ornatus eoꝝ. Complenit q deus die septimo opus suū. qd fecerat. ⁊ requieuit die septimo ab omni opere qd patrarat. Et benedixit diei septimo ⁊ sanctificauit illū. quia in ipso cessauit ab omni opere suo. qd creauit deus ut faceret. Iste grōnes celi ⁊ terre qñ creāte sunt. in die quo fecit dominꝰ deus celum ⁊ terram. ⁊ omne uirgultum agri. antequā oriret. Nondū enī pluerat deus sup terram. ⁊ ho-
mo non erat qui operaret terram. Fons autē ascendebat de terra. ⁊ inri-
gabat uniuersam superficiem terre. Formauit igitur dominꝰ deus hominem de limo terre. ⁊ inspirauit in faciem eius spīraculū uite. ⁊ factus est homo in aiam uiuentē. Plantauerat aūt dominus paradisum uoluptatis a principio in quo posuit hominē quem formauerat. Produxitq; dominus deus de humo omne lignum pulchrum uisu. ⁊ ad uescendū suaue. lignum uite in medio paradisi. lignum q; scīe boni ⁊ mali. Fluuius egrediebat de loco uoluptatis ad irrigandū paradisum. qui inde diuidit in quatuor capita. Nomen uni phison. ipse est qui circuit om̄e terram euilath in qua nascitur aurum. Aurum terre illius optimum ē. Ibiq; inuenitur bdellium ⁊ lapis onichinus. Et nomen fluui secūdi. Geon. ipse ē qui circuit omnē terram ethiopie. Nomen uo fluui tertii tigris ipse uadit cont assirios. Fluuius uo quartus ipse ē eufrates. Tulit igitur dominꝰ deus hominē ⁊ posuit eū in paradiso uoluptatis ut operaretur ⁊ custodiret illū. Preceptitq; ei dicens. Ex omni ligno paradisi comede. de ligno aūt scīe boni ⁊ mali. ne comedas. In quocūq; die comederis ex eo morte morieris. Dixit q dominus deus. Non ē bonum ēe hominē solum. faciam ei adiutoriū simile sui. Formauit igit dīs de humo om-
nia animantia terre ⁊ uniuersa uolatilia celi. duxitq; ea ad Adam. ut uideret quid uocaret ea. Omne enī quod uocauit Adam. aiam uiuentis ipm ⁊ nomen eius. Appellauit q Adam nominib; suis cūcta animalia. ⁊ uniuersa uolatilia celi. ⁊ omnes bestias terre. Adam uo nō inueniebat adiutor. similis sui. Immisit g dominus dī sopo-
rē in Adam. cumq; obdormisset. tulit unam de costis eius. ⁊ replenit carnē pro ea. Et edificauit dominus dī costam q tulerat de Adam in mulierē. ⁊ adduxit eam ad Adam. Dixitq; Adam. Hoc nūc os de ossibꝰ meis. ⁊ caro de carne mea. hec uocabitur virago. quia de uiro sumpta est. Quamobrem dimittet homo patrem suum ⁊ matrem. ⁊ adherebit uxori sue. ⁊ erūt duo in carne una. Sūt autē nudi uterq; duo. Adam. scilicet. ⁊ uxor eius. ⁊ non erubescebant.

III

Sed ⁊ serpens erat callidior cunctis animantibus terre q̄ fecerat dominꝰ dī. qui dixit ad mulierē. Cur præ-

ment allowed for the condensing of the entire Scriptures into a single volume.[36] Prior to the thirteenth century, the Bible rarely existed as one book and could often be found in as many as eight or nine large, separate tomes, with one volume dedicated solely to the Pentateuch, a second to the historical books, a third to the Prophets, and so forth. For itinerant preachers, these magnificent and spacious multi-volume sets were highly impractical, leading to the development of the single-volume format of the Bible common today.[37] Another interesting feature of this manuscript is the sequence in which the Biblical books are arranged, since it does not correspond exactly to the standard order found in modern Bibles. The wisdom literature, for example, appears at the end of the Old Testament, while in the New Testament the Pauline letters and Hebrews come after the letters of James, Peter, and John and immediately before Revelation. This is perhaps not as surprising as it may seem, since the thirteenth century was also the era when the canonical order of the Biblical books was being finally established.[38] It is noteworthy for omitting the Book of Psalms, which was often kept as a separate volume owing to its frequent usage in the course of the canonical day. Single-volume Bibles such as these took on iconic status, becoming objects of veneration in and of themselves, carried aloft in processions as well as in battles. This manuscript once belonged to the Collegium Amplonianum at Erfurt and was bought by Lothar Franz von Schönborn (1655–1729), Archbishop of Mainz, in 1725.

Perhaps most interesting, however, is the fact that this copy of the Bible (and the one that immediately follows) includes the Epistle to the Laodiceans, the 'lost' Pauline letter not included in the canonical scriptures. In this copy it is inserted after Paul's letter to the Colossians, a logical place given that it is in that letter that the apostle mentions his communication with the nearby church at Laodicea in Phrygia. The letter to the Laodiceans appears in no ancient Greek text, but from the fourth century onwards it appears in some Latin Bibles. While St Jerome (c. 345–420) rejected its authenticity, it was frequently cited by Pope St Gregory the Great (d. 604); this may help to explain its inclusion in many medieval English Bibles, since it was he who sent St Augustine of Canterbury (d. c. 604) to convert the English. Indeed, the proto-reformer John Wycliffe (c. 1331–1384) included the apocryphal letter in his controversial English translation of the New Testament, which appeared at the end of the fourteenth century.

On loan from a private collection.

5 *Biblia Latina.* Oxford? c. 1230.

The script, decoration, and marginal annotations all suggest an English (and perhaps Oxfordian) origin for this Vulgate Bible, and the presence of so many contemporary hands making marginalia implies that this was a book intended for some kind of communal use. The fact that the scribe begins his text below the first ruled line on each page, and, like the Canterbury Bible (no. 4), uses the standardized chapter numbering system introduced by Stephen Langton (c. 1150–1228) when he was a lecturer at the University of Paris in the first decade of the thirteenth century, would suggest a creation date after 1210, but before 1250.[39] The absence of a calendar of saints, such as that found in the Canterbury example (no. 4 in this catalogue), to determine more precise *termini post et ante quos* in dating the volume is unfortunate.

Among the most charming features of this book are the decorated initials used to introduce St Jerome's preface and the Book of Genesis. In the first, the saint who is responsible for the Vulgate translation is seated between the horizontal arms of the initial F (for 'Frater', 'Brother') against a blue background, wearing a grey cloak, and reading a sheet of parchment. The Genesis initial I (for 'In principio', 'In the beginning') appears as a ribbon connecting a series of roundels depicting several moments from the story of the creation, grounded at the bottom by a crucifixion scene and ascending to the figure of the creator, who holds a globe in his left hand and has his right raised in blessing. The design is similar to that found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 11536, attributed to the Alexander workshop, while other decorations, such as grotesques wearing peaked caps, are similar to those found in the group of manuscripts copied by or in the style of William of Devon (fl. mid-thirteenth century). Whatever the source, the decoration clearly shows Parisian influence. Indeed, the first portable Bibles were produced in Paris about the year 1230, with English exemplars following shortly thereafter. Unlike the Canterbury Bible, this manuscript includes the Book of Psalms, but excludes some other books often found in thirteenth-century Bibles, such as the Prayer of Manasses and II Ezra.

An almost completely illegible inscription in a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century hand on leaf 337 verso, '<...> her book', would logically indicate that the manuscript belonged to a woman at that time; its odd placement mid-volume in a somewhat juvenile script, however, may simply suggest that the book fell into the hands of a younger person practising her penmanship. Based on similar bindings found in the Glasgow University Library, the book was almost certainly rebound at the end of the eighteenth century by Richard Weir (d. 1792), probably

primapo creauit de terram et cram
ra aurem et uocauit lux diem et te
nebre uocate sunt nox factumq; est
et factum est uespere et mane dies
unus. Dixit quoq; deus fiat fir
mamentum in medio aquarum et
diuidat aquas ab aquis. Et fecit de
us firmamentum diuisitq; aquas q
erant sub firmamento ab his q
erant super firmamentum. Et factu
est ita. Vocauitq; deus firmamentu
celum. Et factum est uespere et mane
dies secundus. Dixit uero deus congregent
aque que sub celo sunt in locum
unum et appareat arida
factum est ita. Et uocauit de
us aridam terram congregationes
q aquarum appellauit maria. Et
uidit deus quod esset bonum et ait. Ger
minet terra herbam uirentem et facien
tem semen et lignum pomife
rum faciens fructum iuxta genus suum
cuius semen in semetipso sit super
terram. Et factum est ita. Et pro
tulit terra herbam uirentem et afferen
tem semen iuxta genus suum lignum
quoque faciens fructum et habens
unusquisq; semen secundum speciem
suam. Et uidit deus quod esset
bonum. Et factum est uespere et ma
ne dies tertius. Dixit deus fiant
luminaria in firmamento celi
et diuidant diem ac noctem.
Et sunt in signa ac tempora et dies
et annos. Ut luceant in firma
mento celi et illuminent terram
Et factum est ita. Fecitq; deus duo
luminaria magna luminare
maius ut preesset diei. Luminare

minus ut preesset nocti. Et stellas. Et posuit eas
in firmamento celi ut lucerent super
terram et present diei ac nocti. Et diuidere lucem ac
tenebras. Et uidit deus quod esset bonum. Et fac
tum est uespere et mane dies quartus. Dixit
q; deus. Producat aque reptile anime uiuen
tis et uolatile super terram sub firmamento
celi. Creauitq; deus cete grandia et omnem
animam uiuentem atque motabilem quam
produxerant aque in species suas. Et omne
uolatile secundum genus suum. Et uidit deus quod
esset bonum. Benedixit eis dicens. Crescite
et multiplicamini et replete aquas maris. A
uesq; multiplicentur super terram. Et factum
est uespere et mane dies quintus. Dixit uero deus
Producat terra animam uiuentem in genere
suo. Iumenta et reptilia et bestias terre
secundum species suas. Factumq; est ita. Et fecit deus bestias
terre iuxta species suas. Iumenta et omne
reptile terre in genere suo. Et uidit deus quod esset
bonum. Et ait faciamus hominem ad
ymaginem et similitudinem nostram et pre
sint piscibus maris et uolatilibus celi et bestiis
terre. Omnique creature omnique reptili
quod mouetur in terra. Creauitq; deus hominem ad
ymaginem dei creauit illum masculum et
feminam creauit eos. Benedixitq; illis
deus et ait. Crescite et multiplicamini et
replete terram et subicite eam. Et domina
mini piscibus maris et uolatilibus celi et uni
uersis animantibus que mouentur super
terram. Dixitq; deus. Ecce dedi uobis omne
herbam afferentem semen super terram et
uniuersa ligna que habent in semetipsis semen germi
nis in escam. Ut sunt uobis in escam
et animantibus. Omnibus uolucribus celi
et uniuersis que mouentur in terra. In quibus
est anima uiuens. Ut habeant ad uescendum.
Factumq; est ita. Viditq; deus cuncta que
fecerat. Et erant ualde bona. Et fuit uespere et mane
dies sextus. Perfecti sunt ergo celi et terra et omnis ornatus
eorum. Complenitq; deus die septimo opus su
um quod fecerat. Et requieuit die septimo ab uni

Incipit plogꝰ libri salomonis.

Romanorum libro octauo epistole

uulgatum. Explicit plogꝰ incipiunt parabole salomonis

Parabole salomonis filii dauid regis israel. ad sciendam sapientiam et disciplinam. ad intelligendum prudentiae

ser sua sapientiam et iustitiam et iudicium et equitatem. ut detur puerulis astutia. et adolescentulo scientia et intellectus. Audiens sapiens sapientior erit. et intelligens gubernacula possidebit. Animaduertet parabolam et interpretationem. uerba sapientium et aenigmata eorum. Timor domini principium sapientiae. Sapientiam atque doctrinam stulti despiciunt. Audi fili mi disciplinam patris tui. et ne dimittas legem matris tuae. ut addat gratiam capiti tuo et torques collo tuo. Fili mi si te lactauerint peccatores ne acquiescas eis. Si dixerint uenite nobiscum. insidiemur sanguini. abscondamus tendiculas ad insontem frustra. deglutiamus eos sicut infernus uiuentem. et integrum quasi descendentem in lacum. omnem substantiam pretiosam implebimus domos nostras. sortem mittite nobiscum. marsupium unus sit omnium. filium ne abuleris cum eis. prohibe pedem tuum a semitis eorum. pedes enim eorum ad malum currunt. festinant. ut effundant sanguinem. Frustra autem iacitur rete. inter oculos pennatorum. Ipsi quoque contra sanguinem suum insidiantur. et moliuntur fraudes contra animas suas. Sic semitae omnis auari. animas possidentium rapiunt. Sapientia foris praedicat. in plateis dat uocem suam. In capite turbarum clamitat. In foribus portarum urbis profert uerba sua. Usquequo paruuli diligitis

sopra

in Toulouse. At the turn of the nineteenth century, the book formed part of the library collected by the politician, mathematician, and astronomer Sir George Augustus William Shuckburgh-Evelyn, 6th Baronet (d. 1804), and his armorial bookplate may be found inside both the upper and lower covers, the one at the back apparently glued at the wrong end, upside down.

6 *Biblia Latina.* Bologna? late 13th century.

The most striking feature of this late-thirteenth-century Vulgate Bible is its larger, more rounded script and opulent decoration. Each book opens with a magnificently illuminated historiated initial, accompanied by pen flourishes and arabesques that extend down the length of the page, some including grotesques as shown here at the beginning of Isaiah. The ornamentation bears some similarity to the work of the master illuminator, Jacopino da Reggio, who worked in Italy between the years 1265 and 1300. Blue is the predominant colour, with particularly bright and rich gold leaf. Beyond its sumptuous adornment, however, this Bible bears witness (along with the previous two English examples) to the widespread adoption of one of the most important technical developments in the history of the Bible as a book, modern standardized chapter numbering. As noted with the *Codex Torontonensis* (no. 1 in this catalogue), prior to this innovation chapter divisions were generally idiosyncratic and often locally determined. It was only with the arrival of large numbers of international students to the new universities that a standardized division of the text, like this one, became necessary. Peculiarities with regard to the canonical order persist in this manuscript, however, with the Acts of the Apostles, for example, following Hebrews and preceding the Catholic Epistles. With the exception of coins, more Bibles survive from the thirteenth century than any other artifact.[40] As with the Canterbury Bible, this volume was rebound by Zacharias Kling of Bamberg for Lothar Franz von Schönborn (1655–1729), Archbishop-Elector of Mainz from 1694 until his death.

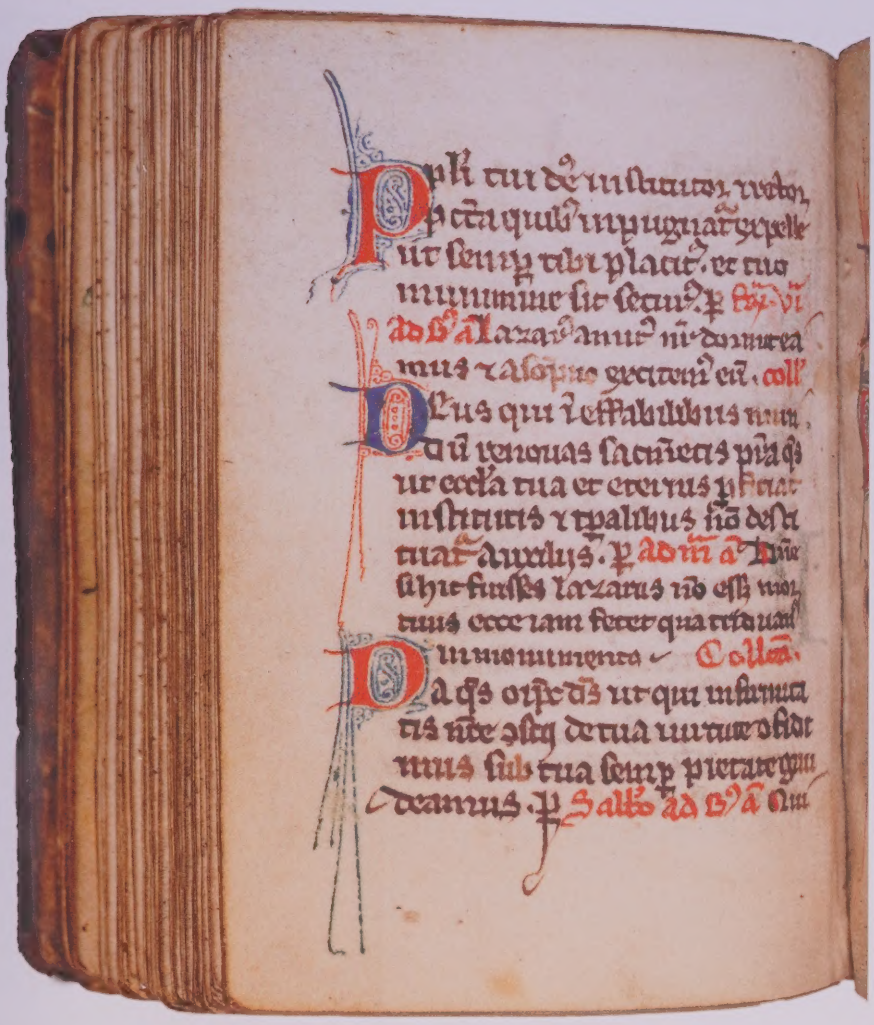
On loan from a private collection.

CASE II:

PRAYER BOOKS

The books used in the Christian world for private prayer during the Middle Ages effectively break down into two categories: those used as part of the officially sanctioned liturgy of the eight canonical hours of matins, lauds, prime, terce, sext, nones, vespers, and compline; and those used for private devotion. The former are generally known as breviaries, required for use by clerics and the vowed members of many religious communities; the latter, often adapted from the formal hours, were principally used by laity wishing to participate in the prayer of the church from the privacy of their own homes, according to their more flexible domestic schedules. Books of hours were among the most popular products issued by medieval scriptoria, and could often be found stocked by stationers, ready for sale. The more deluxe items, however, such as the Viefuille Hours found in this section, would certainly have been commissioned works.

Jewish prayer books likewise fall into two categories: the *siddur*, from the word *seder* ('order'), which contains the set daily prayers, usually including Sabbath prayers; and the *maḥazor* ('cycle'), which contains the prayers for the major Jewish holidays. Often there is a separate volume of *maḥazor* for each of the High Holidays, Rosh Hashanah (New Year) and Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement), and for the three pilgrimage festivals, Pesaḥ (Passover), Shavuot (Pentecost), and Sukkot (Tabernacles). The core of the Jewish prayer book is the *Shema Yisrael* ('Hear O Israel', Deuteronomy 6:4ff.) and the set of eighteen (currently nineteen) benedictions known as the *Shemoneh Esreh* ('eighteen') or the *Amidah* ('standing [prayer]'). Yet the great dispersion of Jews throughout the world led to the development of a great variety of distinct Jewish regional prayer rites (such as Italian, Sephardi, Ashkenazi, and Yemenite).



7 ***Franciscan Breviary for Day Offices.*** **Paris? c. 1250.**

This diminutive volume was the perfect size for a wandering mendicant friar to carry in his knapsack and use during his daily devotions. The gothic bookhand and the style of decoration strongly suggest a Parisian origin, although the tight leather binding tooled in blind is likely German from the fifteenth century—a cautionary reminder that one cannot infer a manuscript's country of origin solely from the binding, which could be added at any time. The lower cover is, in fact, a later, sympathetic addition.

The calendar of saints at the front of the book is generally one of the most useful tools bibliographers have for analyzing a medieval text. Depending on the years of canonization of the saints included therein, it is possible to determine *termini post et ante quos* for the transcription of the volume. Similarly, the inclusion of local saints, not venerated on the universal Roman calendar, offers some insight as to the community for which the book was originally created. This volume is problematic inasmuch as the calendar includes feast days of particular significance within the Franciscan community, such as the memorials of St Peter Martyr (1205–1252) and St Clare (1194–1253) who had been canonized in 1254 and 1255 respectively, but the offices of those saints do not appear in the main text of prayers, known as the *sanctorale*, indicating that the calendar may be slightly later than the body of the text itself. Prayers associated with feast days including the Stigmata of St Francis and the translation of the body of St Clare, both of which were observed within the Order from 1260 onwards, have been added in a later hand. The liturgical reforms of the Franciscan friar Haymo of Faversham (d. c. 1243), which were approved in 1241, are also incorporated into the text. All of this evidence argues for a date of creation in the mid-thirteenth century. Other additions in later hands, including the feast of St Bernardine (1380–1444) who was canonized in 1450, indicate that the volume remained in use for at least two hundred years. Although the manuscript was likely made in Paris, the fact that the calendar also includes a number of feast days peculiar to the Diocese of Trier suggests that it was intended for a German Franciscan, either working or studying at one of the Parisian colleges.

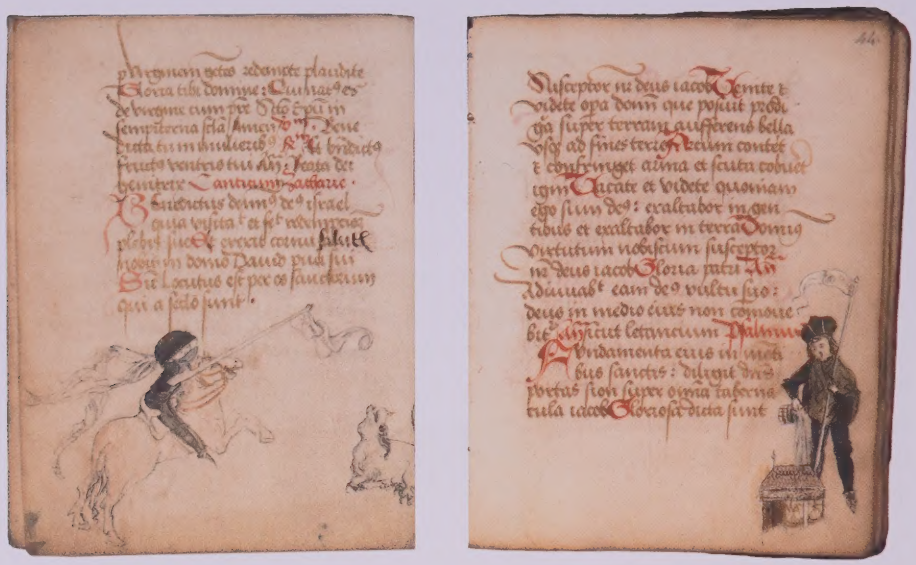
The portable character of the manuscript, known as a *vademecum*, combined with its seemingly international character, bear witness to the peripatetic nature of the new Franciscan and Dominican communities. With convents established all across Europe during the lifetime of St Francis (1181/1182–1226) himself, the friars rapidly became quite cosmopolitan, causing one head of the Order to humourously observe to Brother Salimbene (1221–c. 1290) and his confrères, 'You certainly get about, young men!'[41] Because of their vow of poverty, the friars would have travelled on foot. This necessitated that their books be light, as is the case with this small volume.

Modern breviaries, generally published as multi-volume sets, include the liturgical offices of matins, lauds, prime, terce, sext, nones, vespers, and compline, which continue to be said daily by Roman Catholic clerics around the globe. This medieval single-volume copy, however, excludes the night office of matins and therefore represents a truncation of the breviary, technically known as a Diurnale. It also omits the Psalter, suggesting that the Psalms, which were

repeated so frequently in the prayer of the Church, may have been committed to memory, though more likely they were contained in a separate book.

8 *Maḥazor.* Ashkenaz, early 14th century.

This two-volume manuscript is written on vellum in an Ashkenazi script of the early fourteenth century. It is in essence a prayer book for the entire Jewish holiday cycle. The full-cycle nature of the prayer-book is reflected in the annual calendar on leaves 90v–91r, which lists the days on which every holiday and other special day falls each year. The highly condensed nature of the script results in compact volumes that would have been suitable for travel. The scribe strove to economize space, as can be seen on leaf 54v, where he wrote the end of the *Shir ha-Kavod* ('Hymn of Glory') vertically in the margin, rather than continuing into the next column.[42]



9 ***Officia beatae Mariae virginis et defunctorum.*** **France, late 14th century.**

The book of hours takes its name from the text it contains: the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, or Hours of the Virgin. This text is an abbreviated version of the Divine Office—the cycle of prayers repeated daily at the eight canonical hours by those in holy orders and the clergy—and was used by lay people for private devotion.

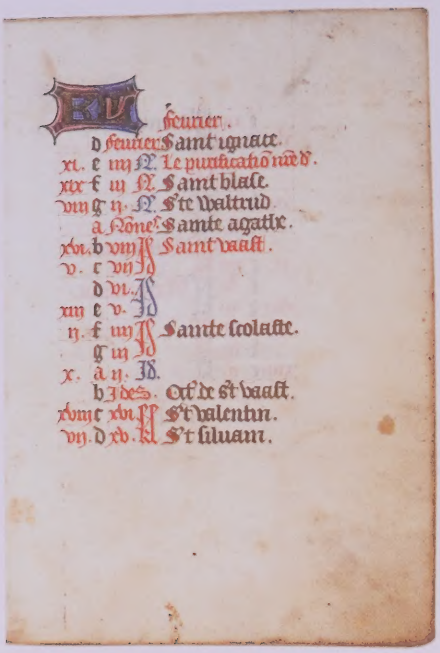
Before the development of European printing in the middle of the fifteenth century, the copying of books of hours was the closest medieval Europe came to mass production in the book trade: 'For three hundred years the Book of Hours was the bestseller of the late Middle Ages'.[43] The near mass production of books of hours did not mean, however, that they were all the same. Books of hours in fact varied widely, both in contents and in appearance, according to the tastes, needs, and (perhaps most importantly) budgets of those for whom they were made. Earlier books of hours, those produced from the mid-thirteenth century until the later years of the fourteenth, were all made on commission, with the commissioner working closely with a scribe to determine all aspects of the book, from the 'use' (or precise form of the liturgy) to be followed, to the inclusion of additional offices (such as the Short Office of the Cross and the Hours of the Passion), to the details of the decorative scheme (miniatures, ornamental initials and borders, illumination, and so on). The scribe would then execute the commission, subcontracting various aspects of the production to other artisans

and artists—illuminators, rubricators, miniaturists—as necessary. This method of production continued into the fifteenth century and beyond for the most elaborate books of hours. Such books were extremely expensive, however, and as demand for books of hours spread among the growing, and increasingly literate, middle class over the course of the fifteenth century, a new method of production developed. This involved the production on speculation of the various component parts of a book of hours—standard texts, optional texts, miniatures, etc.—which could then be assembled into a complete book to meet the needs of an individual purchaser. The purchaser could decide to have more elaborate ornamentation added before the parts were bound together, though many such books of hours were left comparatively unadorned.[44]

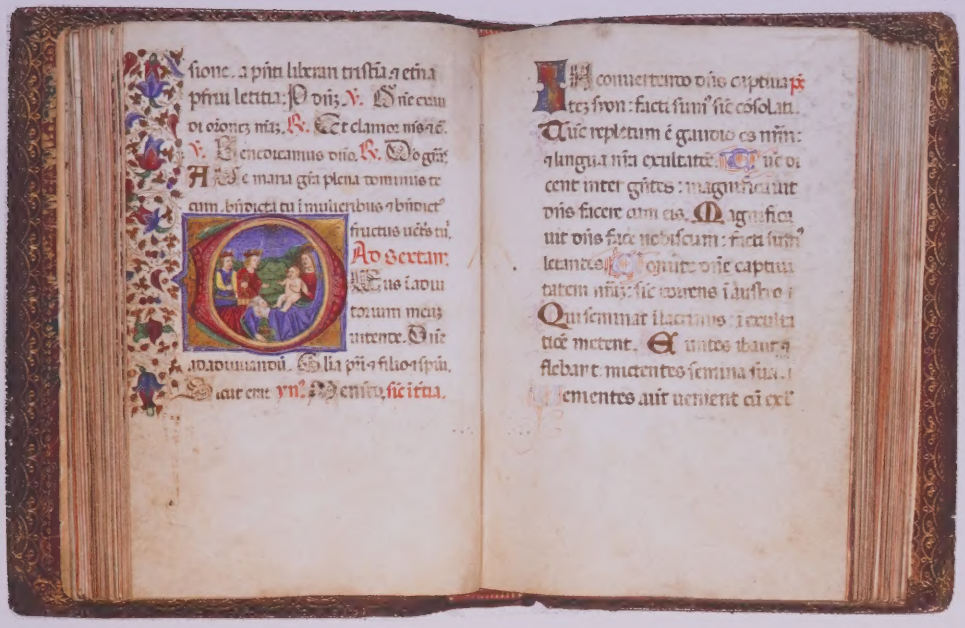
Dating from the late fourteenth century, this book of hours is an early example of the plainer style that would become common in the fifteenth century and would have been familiar to many members of the middle class. The text has been professionally copied, with frequent cadels or pen flourishes, and includes extensive rubrication, but there is little otherwise in the way of ornamentation. The various illustrations found in the book—Christ in an attitude of prayer, St George slaying a dragon, St Florian extinguishing a fire, Christ brought before Pilate—all post-date the original production of the book, having been added perhaps as late as the nineteenth century. As with many books of hours, there is evidence that this book continued in use for some time after its creation as a number of prayers in a variety of hands have been added at the end of the original text. It was one of the last of the manuscripts to be transferred to the University of Toronto from the Royal Ontario Museum, arriving in July 1974, well after the two institutions had formally separated.

10 *Horae*. Arras? 15th century.

The calendar of saints for this book of hours is of limited use for determining the date of its creation. It includes the feast of St Louis (1214–1270), King of France, who was canonized in 1297, but the majority of saints come from what is known as the 'pre-congregation' period, meaning they were recognized as saints according to ancient and local customs prior to the reservation of canonization as a function of the Holy See, which occurred in the year 1170. The calendar, which is in French, not Latin, does, however, provide an important clue about the community for which it was prepared. Two feasts of St Vaast (c. 453–540) are recorded therein, the first on 6 February and the second on 15 July. The first is accorded an octave, and both appear as red-letter days, thus putting the



commemoration on the same level as the major feasts of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and some of the Twelve Apostles. This would suggest that the book was prepared for someone with ties to Arras, where St Vaast (or Vedast) served as the first bishop and in whose honour a Benedictine abbey was established in the town in 667. The main text is written in gothic script by several different hands, with additions at the front and back in *lettre bâtarde*; this less angular form of the gothic influenced the development of typography at the end of the fifteenth century and is preserved most memorably in the English-speaking world in the typefaces of William Caxton (c. 1422–c. 1491). The volume, which was repaired in 2018, is leather bound over original wooden boards, with the lacing-in visible at front and back. It entered the University of Toronto collections after being transferred from the Royal Ontario Museum in 1975. The Royal Ontario Museum acquired the manuscript in 1938 from Miss K. S. Scott Colin of Port Dover.



11 ***Offitium beate uirginis Marie secundum consuetudinem fratrum ordinis praedicatorum.*** **Naples or Taranto? after 1423.**

The title of this portable prayer book comes from the recto of its thirteenth leaf, which bears the caption: 'Offitium beate ui[r]ginis marie secundum consuetudinem fratrum ordinis p[rae]dicator[um]' (or 'Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary according to the practice of the brothers of the Order of Preachers', otherwise known as the Dominicans). Internal evidence would indicate that it was transcribed in Southern Italy, since one of the red-letter days, 29 October, commemorates the dedication of 'the great church of Taranto'. In 1423, the Dominicans introduced three feast days previously unobserved in their calendar: the Apparition of St Michael (8 May), the Ten Thousand Martyrs (20 June, though recorded here on 22 June), and the feast of St Barbara (4 December), giving this volume a *terminus post quem* of that year.[45] Eight illuminated initials containing the standard programme of events from the life of Christ and the Virgin introduce the various Hours of Our Lady, with a fine Grim Reaper inaugurating the Office of the Dead, while a tranquil 'Ecce homo' ('Behold the Man') may be found at the beginning of the Office of the Passion of Christ. Other sections of the various hours are introduced by decorated letters and there is rubrication throughout. At the end of the main text, a late gothic hand appends the baptismal

creed in twelve separate articles, each assigned to one of the apostles (hence, the Apostles' Creed), followed by humanist hands that record the Athanasian Creed (with space for an unrealized letter Q in its *incipit*) and other devotional texts, some in French and Italian. One of the most interesting contemporary annotations may be found on the leaf immediately before the calendar of saints and records in a humanist cursive hand the birth of Ferdinand II (d. 1496), King of Naples, on 26 June 1467—intriguing, since many modern sources assign the year of his birth to 1469.

In recent history the book had belonged to Herman Blum (1885–1973), as well as Stillman Drake (1910–1993). Blum had been a textile executive by profession, but a manuscript and antiquarian book collector by avocation. In his residence in Frankford, Pennsylvania, he established his own private rare book library known as 'Blumhaven', which included a substantial Americana collection subsequently donated to the Pennsylvania State Archives. Drake was an eminent historian of science best known for his research and publications on Galileo Galilei (1564–1642).

12 *Viefuille Book of Hours.* Paris, before 1446?

The Viefuille Hours are named for the book's first owner, Jacqueline de Viefuille, who is identified in a brief note on the recto of the forty-third leaf: 'Ce livre icy appartient a seur Jacqueline de Viefuille Religieuse de lhostel Dieu De Paris' ('This book belongs to Sister Jacqueline de Viefuille, religious of the Hôtel-Dieu de Paris'). Her initials 'I.V.' also feature on the verso of the twentieth leaf, where they appear on a shield incorporated into the illuminated border. Nothing is known of Jacqueline beyond what we learn about her from this manuscript, which reveals only the barest details of her life. We can be sure, for example, that Jacqueline lived during the first half of the fifteenth century, as the manuscript was made specifically for her and internal evidence dates its production securely to this period: the calendar with which it begins does not mention any saint canonized after 1445. We can also assume that Jacqueline came from a wealthy family: the lavishness of the decoration, and the skill with which it is executed, would have made the commissioning of this book an expensive undertaking. And we know, of course, from the note identifying the book as Jacqueline's that she was a religious at the Hôtel-Dieu de Paris, though we cannot tell at what stage in her life she took up this vocation.

The Hôtel-Dieu de Paris was the most important hospital in the city of Paris throughout the medieval period, and its staff included several dozen sisters,

novices, and female domestics. The sisters were responsible for various medical, religious, and administrative aspects of the running of the hospital, including spiritual exercises, the care of the sick, the distribution of food, the disposal of the dead, and the basic maintenance of the hospital buildings. Jean Gerson (1363–1429), Chancellor of the University of Paris and a rough contemporary of Jacqueline de Viefuille, extolled the virtues of the sisters of the Hôtel-Dieu de Paris in one of his sermons, though by the end of the fifteenth century standards had slipped and in 1505 the Parlement de Paris seized control of the hospital and secularized its administration.[46]

The Viefuille Hours are written in the *bâtarde* script commonly employed in luxury French manuscripts of this period, and also feature sixteen fine miniatures and innumerable illuminated borders and initials, though the quantity of decoration decreases towards the end of the book. The miniatures, which include (as is common in books of hours) portraits of the four evangelists and various scene from the life of the Virgin Mary, were probably painted by an anonymous artist known as the Master of Jean Rolin II (fl. 1440–1465).[47] This prolific artist collaborated with many of the best-known illuminators of the day, such as members of the Bedford Workshop and Maître François (fl. 1455–1472), though he appears to be solely responsible for the miniatures in the Viefuille Hours.

On loan from a private collection.

manus imponent z bene ha
bebunt. Et dominus quidez
ihesus postquam locutus
est eis assumptus est in ce
lum et sedet a dextris dei.
Illi autem proficisci predi
cauerunt vbiqz domino co
operante et sermonem con
firmante sequentibus sig
nis. Deo gracias. Ad
Protector noster aspice deus et quo michil est
validius michil sectius multiplica
super nos miaz tuam ut te rectore
te duce sic transeamus bona tem
poralia ut non amittamus eternaa.

Dñe labia
mea aperies.
Et os meum
adnunciabit

13 *Breviarium Romanum.* Central Italy, between 1455 and 1472.

The calendar of saints, which occupies the first six leaves of this breviary, includes the feast of St Vincent Ferrer, who was canonized in 1455, in the same late gothic hand that had copied the rest of the text in this quire. The translation of Saint Bernadine of Siena, which occurred in 1472, is added in a different hand, however, arguing for the creation of this simply, but beautifully, executed manuscript between those two years. The breviary was created specifically for the use of members of the Franciscan community and the inclusion in the calendar of the dedications of the basilicas of St John Lateran, St Peter, and St Paul Outside the Walls, all in Rome, point to a Central Italian origin. Only one illumination adorns the text, a historiated initial B introducing Psalm I, 'Beatus vir' ('Blessed is the man'), with the figure of King David in a pink robe staring upwards in adoration. The remainder of the decoration is elegant and uncluttered, with typical alternating red and blue pen flourishes throughout, and occasional purple and yellow highlights. Unlike the earlier Franciscan breviary in the Fisher collection, this copy, with its minuscule gothic hand, includes the Psalter as well as the *sanctorale*, although at least one quire with a sequence of prayers for the season of Advent is missing. The volume, which is bound in a single small sheet of limp vellum, apparently enjoyed long use, as is evidenced by the addition of prayers for the feast of the dedication of the Portiuncula Church in Assisi, which was not constructed until the end of the sixteenth century. The breviary was purchased at auction in 1903 by Captain Michael Tennant, and was given to the Fisher in 1988 by the Canadian professor of mathematics, Ralph Stanton (1923–2010).[48]

tous dño cantamus dulciter ynos. Ut pio regi pie cantantes cū suis leis mereamur ambā ingredi cēlū sūl et bēā dūcē mūl. Precet hoc nob dcētus bēn pius ac natū pie cū sco spō cuius regnat i sēcl glā mūdo. Amē. In diās diebꝫ ad matut. ī p̄o. nō. pio aduēt a. Veniet ac. ver. pio pō. ma. a. Unite dño. Tempore paschali ꝫ alla. p̄s dauid.

Beatus uir q nō abiit i cōsilio impior et i uia pcōr nō stetit et i cathedra pestilēcie nō sedit. Sed in lege dñi uoluntas ei9. et i lege eius meditabit die ac nocte. Et erit tāq̄ lignū qđ plantatū ē secus decursus aq̄r. qđ fructū suū dabit ī tēpe suo. Et foliū eius nō defluet. et oīa q̄cūq̄ faciet psperabūt. Non sic impii nō sic sed tāq̄ puluis qđ pijcit uētus a facie tre. Ideo nō resurgunt impii ī iudicio. neq̄ pcōres ī cōsilio iustoꝝ. Quā nouit dñs uiā iustoꝝ. et iter impiorū peribit. psalmus.

Quare fremuerūt gētes et pōli meditati sūt inania. Astiterūt reges tre et pncipes uenerūt ī unū aduūs dñm et aduūs xpm eius. Disrūpamus uincula eoꝝ. et proiciamꝰ a nob iugū ipoꝝ. Qui habitat ī cēlis irridebit eos. et dñs subsannabit eos. Tunc loqt ad eos ī ira sua. et ī furore suo cōturbabit eos. Ego aūt cōstitutus sū rex ab eo super sion montē sanctū eius prēdicans pceptū eius. Dñs dixit ad me. filius meus es tu. ego hodie genui te. Postula a me et dabo tibi gentes hereditatē tuā. et possessionē tuā fines tre. Reges eos ī uirga ferrea. et tāq̄ uas figuli confringes eos. Et nūc reges intelligite. erudimini qui iudicatis tram. Seruite dño ī timore. et exultate ei cū tremore. Apphēdite disciplinā neq̄ quādo irascatur dñs et pereatis de uia iusta. Cū exarserit ī breui ira eius beati oēs qui confidunt ī eo. psalmus.

Domine qd multiplicati sūt qui tribulant me. multi insurgunt aduūsum

14 ***Horae.*** **Paris? c. 1470.**

This small but lovely book of hours is written in a *bâtarde* script throughout. The liturgical calendar, written in French, that appears at its front follows Paris usage, with special attention given to the feasts of saints peculiar to that region such as St Genevieve (c. 420–c. 505), St Louis (1214–1270), and St Denis (d. c. 250), whose names all appear in gold rather than in the red ink more typically used to mark particularly holy days. When the volume was rebound at the end of the eighteenth century, an error was introduced into the sequence of the calendar, however, so that the months of May and July now appear after June and August respectively. With the exception of its close trimming, the manuscript is in exceptionally fine condition. Particularly striking are the twelve surviving illuminated miniatures, each of which is housed in an arched compartment surrounded by rich,parti-coloured decoration featuring birds, acanthus leaves, flowers, and foliage, and making liberal use of liquid gold ground. They are rendered in the late medieval style of the Maître François, a most talented illuminator who was active in Paris between the years 1462 and 1480, and may in fact be identified with the artist François Le Barbier. One anomaly is that the book contains two Crucifixion miniatures back-to-back—presumably substitutes for the original leaf, which is now wanting—neither of which belonged to the original volume. Each is accompanied by text written in gothic script; they are apparently detached from two different manuscripts and seem to imitate a decorative style more in keeping with that of the Bedford Workshop, which had been active in Paris earlier in the fifteenth century. At the back of the book may be found a set of fifteenth-century prayers in rhyming French verse, penned using an iron gall ink that has turned a reddish-brown over time.

Exaudiuit iohannem.

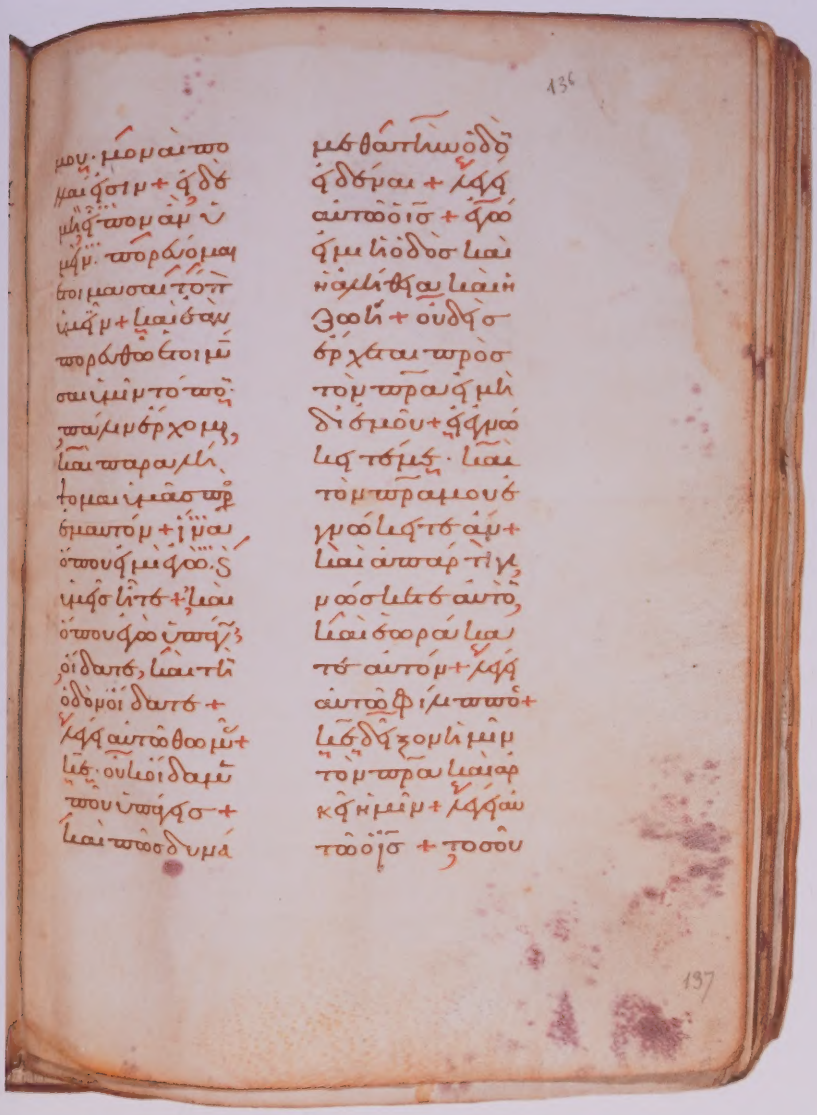
In principio erat Verbum et Verbum erat apud Deum. omnia

CASE III:

LITURGICAL BOOKS

Among the books most frequently transcribed in the Christian Middle Ages were those appointed for use at the Eucharist. By the early thirteenth century, most of the common and proper texts needed for the celebration of the Mass were beginning to appear as a single volume, known as a missal. These texts varied from region to region, however, according to the usage of different dioceses and religious jurisdictions around Europe. The introduction of the printing press, and the dissemination of printed missals, would assist in the elimination of local rites and the standardization of liturgical practice throughout the Roman Catholic world after the Council of Trent, held in the sixteenth century.

In the Jewish tradition, the most obvious distinction between prayer books (*siddurim*) for private use and books intended for the use of the *ḥazan* (or cantor) in directing or leading communal prayer is one of size. Private prayer books tend to be small, though they often include commentaries alongside the primary text. Books for the *ḥazan* are larger and are often made with more artistic care, but generally lack the commentaries found in private prayer books.



15 ***Greek Gospel Lectionary*. Constantinople? c. 1050.**

A lectionary is a service book that organizes the appointed readings for the liturgical year, in this case the Gospel lections used on Sundays in the Greek Orthodox Church. This detail suggests that the volume was prepared for parish rather than monastic use, since the Divine Liturgy would have been celebrated on a daily basis within a monastery. Like the *Codex Torontonensis* (no. 1 in this

catalogue), it is ruled in drypoint, meaning that the scribe has incised the parchment using a sharp stylus or the dull side of his penknife in order to create the furrows that guide the writing. Ruling such as this was visible to the writer, but less obtrusive for the reader, and did not interfere with the appearance of the script on the page. An illuminated initial introduces each Gospel reading. The text is written in *Perlschrift* (a Byzantine minuscule script in use around the turn of the millennium) with ekphonetic notation in red ink directly above. This notation is a mnemonic device used to assist the cantor with the chanting of the words and is consistent with the book's eleventh-century style. Many of the folios have been marred by a purple residue, the result of now inactive bacteria that interacted with the collagen of the parchment at some point in the manuscript's history, perhaps indicative of earlier water damage.

The provenance of this manuscript is particularly interesting since it was one of a group of codices that formed part of the nineteenth-century library of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre in Constantinople (Metochion MS 444), the most famous alumnus of which is the so-called 'Archimedes Palimpsest'. Marginal handwritten notes indicate that this Fisher lectionary had previously been housed in a church near Trebizond on the Black Sea coast at the end of the sixteenth century, and subsequently belonged to a monk by the name of Partenius in the year 1648. In the twentieth century it was owned by the Parisian antiquities dealer and forger Salomon Guerson (1872–1970), a veteran of the Byzantine trade whose stock included several other volumes from the Metochion, all of which showed the same purple discolouration.

16 *Gospel Lectionary (Cistercian Use).* Spain? 1185–1190.

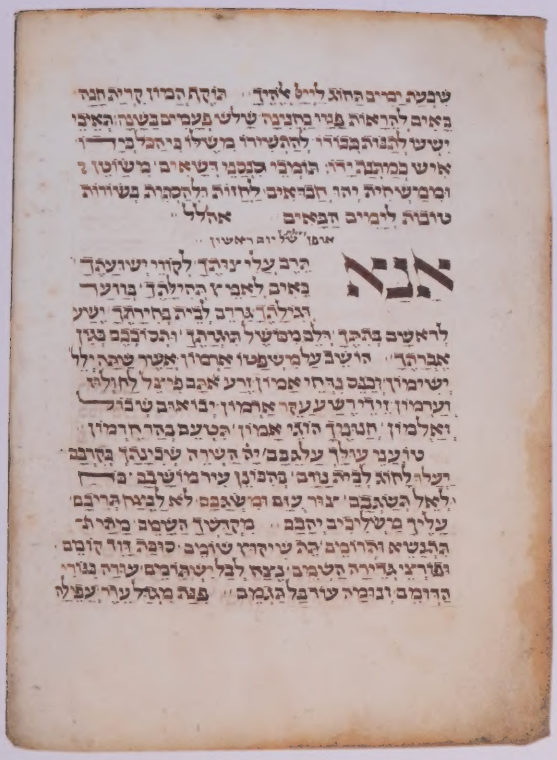
Prior to the standardization of the Roman Catholic liturgy at the time of the Council of Trent (1545–1563), dioceses and religious orders maintained ritual practices peculiar to their own contexts and traditions. This lectionary follows the particular use of the Cistercians, who were exempted from the Tridentine reforms by Pope Pius V (1504–1572), since their rites had been in use for more than two hundred years by the time of the Council of Trent. The Cistercians, a reformed branch of the more ancient Benedictines, were founded at the monastery of Cîteaux in 1098 by Saints Robert of Molesme (1028–1111), Stephen Harding (d. 1134), and Alberic of Cîteaux (d. 1109). The dating of this manuscript is largely determined by the saints whose feast days were originally included in the *sanctorale*. The feast of St Thomas Becket (1119/1120–1170), which was observed by the Order beginning in 1185, is included, while the feast of St

Malachy (1094–1148), who was venerated by the Cistercians on account of his friendship with St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) and was canonized in the year 1190, is not. The script and forms of abbreviation found throughout the manuscript argue for an origin in Spain (or possibly Southern France). In keeping with the simplicity embraced by the Cistercians in general, the book is undecorated, with the exception of coloured initials used throughout. Several of the large initial 'I's in the volume were executed in a green pigment that has subsequently eaten through the vellum, a consequence of the fact that it was probably made from an unstable chemical concoction involving copper. One of the most interesting features of the manuscript, however, is its inclusion of the *Exsultet* ('Let them exult') chant, a glorious hymn of praise dating from about the sixth century that is sung at the Great Vigil of Easter immediately after the lighting of the paschal candle. The chant effectively begins the Easter celebrations and, while its inclusion in a lectionary may at first glance seem out of place, it must be remembered that it was the designated role of the liturgical deacon to sing not only the Gospels, but the *Exsultet* as well.

17 ***Maḥazor le-Sukot*. Ashkenaz or Central Europe, 14th century.**

This manuscript on vellum is a Jewish prayer book for the holiday of Sukkot (Tabernacles). It is written in an Ashkenazi square script of the fourteenth century, with vocalization and is therefore probably from Germany or Central Europe. It includes many variants to the text of the standard liturgy and to the text of the *piyutim* (hymns), and shows influence from both western Ashkenazic and Polish/Austrian customs.

Only eleven leaves of the manuscript have survived, and they do not (for the most part) contain illustrations. An exception can be found in the left margin of leaf 6r, where there appear the remains of a small sketch (half of which was unfortunately lost when the leaf was trimmed). This horned and winged figure, drawn in a different ink than that of the text, might be a dragon—a common motif in medieval synagogue art and manuscript illustration.[49] Unlike images of dragons in other manuscripts of the time, however, this dragon does not seem to have been drawn by a professional artist and does not carry any



obvious iconographic meaning. The margins of the manuscript also contain some textual corrections throughout.

As limited as the surviving portion of this manuscript is, it exemplifies quite a wide range of the codicological traditions found in Jewish medieval manuscripts, especially the methods used to fill out short lines and produce even lefthand margins.[50] One method, is the dilation, or stretching, of letters (as, for example, on leaves 5v and 6r). Another method is the insertion of graphic fillers at the end of the line (as on leaves 5v and 9r). The form of the graphic fillers used here is quite common in medieval Ashkenazi manuscripts.[51] A third method is the anticipation of the beginning of the next word (i.e., the first word of the next line). In this method, when the space remaining at the end of a line was not enough to write the entirety of the next word, the first letter or two would nevertheless be written at the end of the line, and the complete word, including a repetition of those letters, would be written on the following line. Examples of this are found throughout this manuscript (as, for example, on leaves 5v and 6v).

ECTVR clemẽtissime
pater p ꝑ hm xpm filiũ tuũ
dñm nr̃m supplices rogamꝰ
ac petimus. hic engrossé er
obscule altare. ⁊ cetera ma
nibꝰ dicat. Vna ac ꝑ hanc hanc
as ꝓ hanc cas. hic ter signet
cam sup hostiã quã sup ca
licẽ dicẽdo. hec ho ☩ na.
hec mũda ☩ nã. hec sãc
ta ☩ cia sine macula. Inꝑ
mis que tibi offerim ꝑ ec
clia tua sc̃a catholica. q̃ pa
cificare. custodire. adunare.
et regere digneris. toto ôbe
rarum. una cũ famulo tuo
papa nro. N. et antistite nro
N. ⁊ omnibꝰ orthodoxis. atq;
catholice ⁊ apostolice fidei cultoribꝰ. Commemoratõ ꝑsonarum

Me mento famulorꝫ famu
larumq; tuarꝫ. N. N. et om̃i
um astantium tuũ. quorꝫ tibi
fides cognita ē ⁊ nota ē devo
tio. ꝓ quibꝰ tibi offerimus.
vel qui tibi offerũt hec lꝯ
sacrificium laudis. ꝑ se suisq;
omnibꝰ. ꝓ redẽptione animarꝫ
suarꝫ. ꝓ spe salutis ⁊ incolu
mitatis suę. tibi redduntꝫ
que ti tua ẽtnũ deo viuo ⁊
vero. In sanctione.

Communicantes ⁊ me
moriam uenerantes. In ꝑ
mis gl̃ose semꝑ virginis
marie genitricis dei ⁊ dñi
nri ihu xpi. sed ⁊ beatorꝫ ap̃lo
rũ ac martyrũ tuorꝫ. Petri
Pauli. Andree. Jacobi. Jo
hannis. Thome. Jacobi. ⁊
Philippi. Bartholomei.
Matthei. Simonis. ⁊ Tha
dei. Lini. Cleti. Clementis.
Sixti. Cornelii. Cypriani.
Laurentii. Chrysogoni. Joh̃is
et ꝑti. Cosmę ⁊ damiani
et omnium sanctorum tuorꝫ
quorꝫ meritis precibusq; cõce
das. vt in omnibꝰ protego
nis tue muniamur auxilio.
ꝑ eundem xpm dñm nr̃m.

Hanc igitur oblationem ser
vitutis nre. sed ⁊ cuncte fa

18 *Missale Romanum*. Bologna or Padua? c. 1325.

Sometime in the early years of the thirteenth century, the peace of the countryside around the Italian city of Gubbio was disturbed by the appearance of a large and unusually truculent wolf, which so terrorized the region that the inhabitants of the city soon refused to leave the safety of their walls. Eventually, much to their surprise, and against their strong objections, one man declared that he would go out unarmed to find the wolf and tame it; they were even more surprised when he succeeded in doing so. They should not have been, for the man was St Francis of Assisi (1181/1182–1226). A century or so later, this missal was made, probably in Padua or Bologna, and almost certainly to be used in the Franciscan convent in Gubbio.

The evidence both for the date of the manuscript and its intended place of use comes from the calendar with which it begins. The inclusion of St Louis of Toulouse (1274–1297), whose feast was celebrated from 1317, and the omission of the translation of St Anthony of Padua (1195–1231), celebrated from 1350, suggest that the missal was copied between those dates. Similarly, the inclusion of St Ubaldus (c. 1084–1160), Bishop of Gubbio, as a red-letter saint strongly suggests that the manuscript was made for a religious foundation in this town, and the prominence in the calendar of Franciscan saints suggests that the foundation in question was the Convent of St Francis, established in 1240.[52] The calendar also provides evidence for the manuscript's ongoing use for well over a century, though not only in Gubbio. The addition in an early-fifteenth-century hand of Saints Romedius (fl. c. 400), Sisinnius (d. 397), Martyrius (d. 397), Alexander (d. 397), and Vigilius (c. 353–405), all associated with Trento, make it likely that the missal was in that city within a few generations of its creation. And the later addition of saints associated with Augsburg and Würzburg likewise tend to the conclusion that it was in Southern Germany by the second half of the fifteenth century. The most striking evidence of its time in Germany, however, comes in the form of a magnificent full-page miniature of the crucifixion and a vibrant pink binding. The style of the miniature, which shows Christ on the cross, flanked by the Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist, with the sun and moon above, suggests it was painted in Bamberg or Würzburg late in the fifteenth century. The binding too is typically German, especially in the placement of the clasps with the catches on the top board, though it is possible that the boards themselves are recycled from an earlier Italian binding.

19 *Graduale Romanum*. Cologne? c. 1420.

The Roman Gradual is a liturgical book in which are collected some of the principal chants used during the singing of the Mass, in particular (at this time in the Late Middle Ages) the introit (or entrance chant), the gradual psalm (which followed the first reading), sequences (sung on certain major feasts before the Gospel acclamation), the Gospel acclamation (the Alleluia, or tract in Lent), the offertory chant, and the Communion antiphon, as well as hymns for processions and blessings on the major feast days of the Church's calendar, such as Palm Sunday and Easter. The earliest graduals, which contained only liturgical texts without the music, date from the ninth century. In time, neumes (plainchant notes) were added above the texts, simply to indicate the general direction of a melody that had presumably already been committed to memory. Staves were added in later times, and are used in this volume.[53] Indeed, one of the oddities of this particular gradual is that the notes are written on a five-line staff (introduced in Italy in the thirteenth century), rather than on the three or four lines typical of plainchant notation. The notation is in two different, but contemporaneous hands, and the inclusion of the *Hymnus antiquus ad laudem civitatis Coloniensis* (*Ancient Hymn in Praise of the City of Cologne*) on the final leaf of the original text provides the evidence that the massive tome was transcribed in and/or for the Archdiocese of Cologne, one of the major ecclesiastical principalities of the Holy Roman Empire. The inclusion of four leaves at the front and two at the back with additional chants written in hands that range up to the eighteenth century indicates the long use this gradual enjoyed liturgically.

This particular gradual is massive, and has been inserted into a magnificent binding that is actually older, probably by some one hundred years, than the manuscript itself. The richly blindtooled, tawed pigskin is divided into quadratic and rectangular sections, and stretches over thick wooden boards that are sewn along five thongs. Eight large cast and punched corner pieces adorn the upper and lower covers, serv-

ing as bosses, and two large, engraved brass clasps (likely later), decorated in a diaper pattern, remain present and functional. The book still retains its linen page markers attached to a piece of wooden dowel, which is inserted at the headpiece. By the four-

teenth century, graduals like these had become quite large in size in order to permit several cantors to stand around a single volume and sing from it as a small *schola* (or choir), rather than using an individual volume for each singer.

CASE IV:

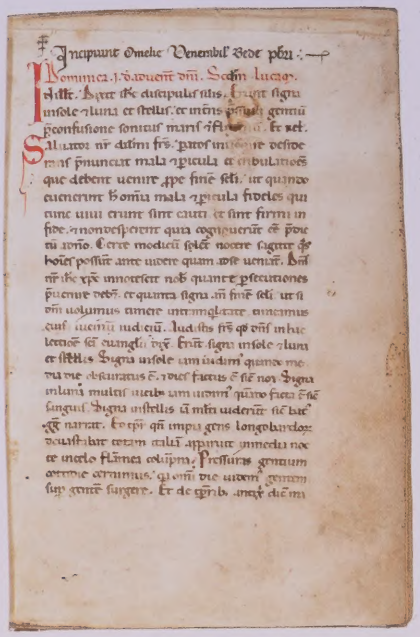
SERMONS AND SPIRITUAL TEXTS

A surprisingly large number of sermons from the Middle Ages survive. The sermons of thinkers such as St Augustine (354–430) and St Gregory (c. 540–604) were preserved as theological and spiritual reference works, but even the works of lesser-known clerics were saved as didactic tools for aspiring preachers. As such, they were not only important for their content but also for their rhetorical flair. It would seem likely, however, that these were not verbatim transcripts copied from a *viva voce* delivery, but written out and polished for style afterwards. In some churches, these collections may have been read in place of an original homily. Sermons are, without doubt, among the most important resources for understanding the evolution of theology and spirituality, but they also provide important glimpses into society itself, and its view of art, women, sexuality, and popular devotional practices.[54]

In the Jewish tradition, an important genre of spiritual texts was the *Musar* literature—that is, texts meant to serve as guides in virtue and ethics. The Biblical book of Proverbs can be seen as an early type of *Musar* work, though the genre really developed in the medieval period with the composition of a variety of such texts throughout the Jewish diaspora. It continued to evolve into the modern period and remains popular to this day. The leaders of the movement known as *Ḥasidut Ashkenaz*, or German Pietists, created a particularly distinctive type of *Musar* literature, an example of which is presented here.

20 Pseudo-Bede. *Homeliae de tempore, de sanctis, et de communi sanctorum*. Southern France (or Italy)? 1150–1200.

In the second half of the eighth century, the Emperor Charlemagne (747–814) launched a programme of cultural renewal aimed at 'the moral betterment of the Christian people'.[55] Whether or not this programme amounted to a Carolingian renaissance, as has sometimes been argued, is a question for scholars of the period.[56] One of its undeniable, tangible results, however, was the flourishing of schools across Francia—at that time comprising much of modern day France, western Germany, and northern Italy—among which the school at Auxerre soon became one of the most prominent. It was the intellectual tradition of this school that produced the homilies found in this manuscript, which are modelled in particular on a series of sermons by Haymo of Auxerre (d. c. 865).[57] Moreover, this manuscript is far from being the only witness to this intellectual tradition; it is, in fact, one of a group of ten manuscripts that preserve over one hundred similar, mostly Carolingian, homilies. Like other manuscripts in the group, the Fisher manuscript attributes the homilies it contains to the great Northumbrian scholar the Venerable Bede (672/673–735), who was active as a writer of homilies (among many other works) two or three generations before the reign of Charlemagne. Some sixteen of the homilies found in the other manuscripts are in fact Bede's—there are also a number by Alcuin of York (c. 735–804), one of the great architects of Carolingian educational reform—but the texts in the Fisher manuscript are of anonymous Carolingian authorship. Although they cover the whole of the liturgical cycle, the homilies were probably not designed for liturgical use, but were meant rather for use in private study or as a source of inspiration. Each homily comments upon a text drawn from one of the Church Fathers rather than from Scripture, thus marking them out as examples of a genre known as the patristic homily. Unlike earlier examples of this genre, however, the homilies in this collection do not restrict themselves to commenting narrowly on the patristic texts that they take as their points of departure, but go beyond them,

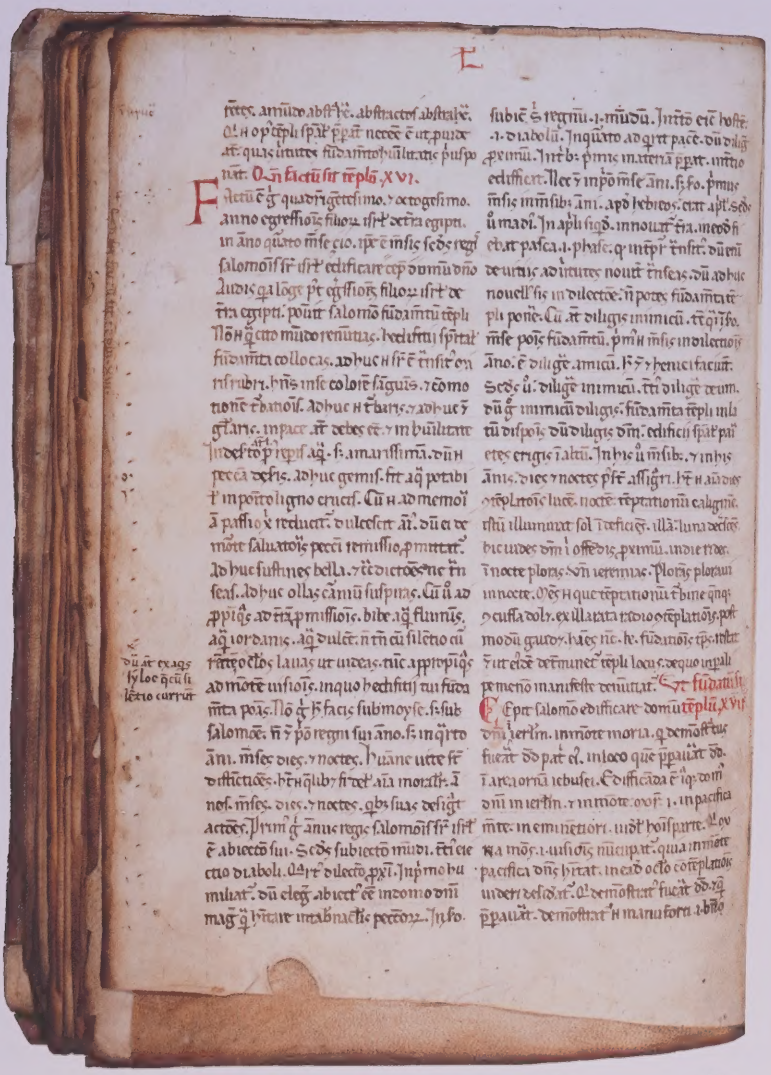


developing their themes in a highly personal, even idiosyncratic, manner. In this, it has been suggested, they mark an important, and distinctively Carolingian, step in the development of the homily more generally.[58]

The evidence of the script, rounded gothic liturgical, suggests a Southern French, or possibly Italian, origin for this manuscript and a date sometime in the second half of the twelfth century—none of the group of manuscripts preserving the Carolingian homilies date from the Carolingian period; rather, all were copied in France or Italy from the eleventh to the twelfth centuries. The Fisher manuscript was later in the famous collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), who by the time of his death in 1872 owned some 60,000 manuscripts.

21 Hugh of Fouilloy (c. 1100–c. 1172). *De claustro animae.* France? c. 1153. One of the most intriguing works of ascetic theology of the High Middle Ages, this treatise examines the way in which the development of the spiritual life imitates the architecture of a medieval cloister. As such, it is part of a medieval allegorical tradition that arguably begins with the treatises *De tabernaculo (On the Tabernacle)* and *De templo (On the Temple)*, written by the Venerable Bede (672/673–735) in the first third of the eighth century, and culminates with the Counter-Reformation masterpiece *El Castillo Interior (The Interior Castle)*, penned by Teresa of Avila (1515–1582) in 1577. Hugh de Fouilloy's specific contribution to this genre is to shift the focus away from contemplation of God alone and towards a consideration of the ascetic life itself, which is imagined as a series of courtyards, walls, chambers, and buildings, each directing the contemplative towards the divine. In that sense, then, this book shines a spotlight primarily on the process of devotion, rather than on its divine object.[59]

The paleographical style of the manuscript argues for the copying of the text very close to its original date of composition, which was around the year 1153. An interesting note at top of the first leaf reads 'A[nn]o d[omini] M.C. octogesimo VII.



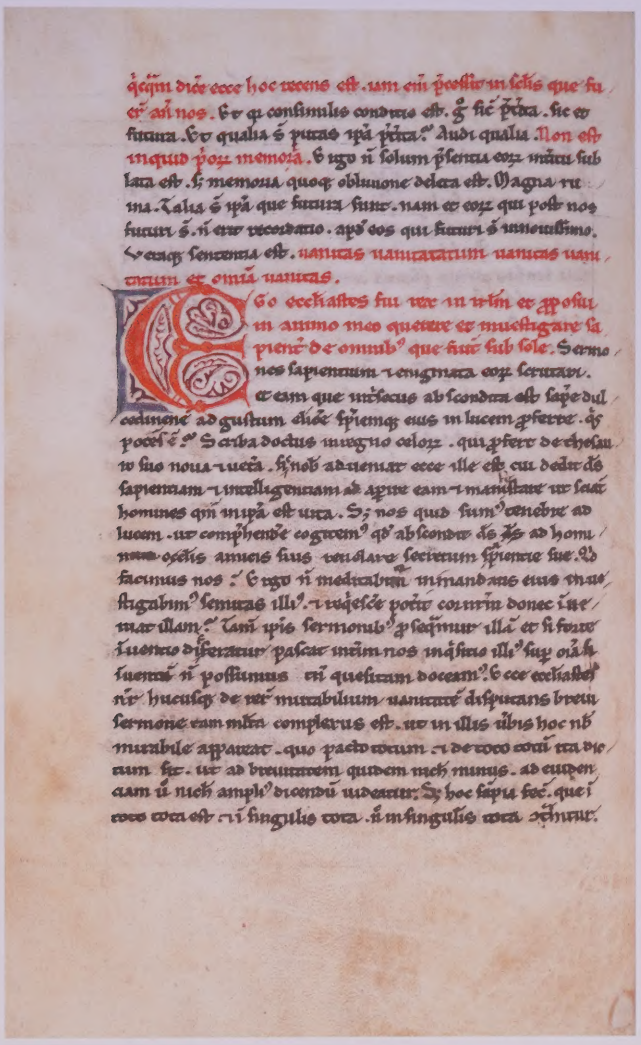
quondam sanctum captum fuit sepulcrum', referring to the capture of the Holy Sepulchre by Saladin on 2 October 1187. The manuscript was the product of a monastic scriptorium (most likely Cistercian, given their interest in this particular text). The quires are irregular in length and vary dramatically in terms of their trimming, with a different hand evident in almost every one. As a result, the manuscript, which is missing several leaves, provides insight into a wide variety of scribal practices at this time. Among the most interesting concerns the layout of the text. The first thirty-two leaves, which contain the first two books of the

work, are written in the long lines typically found in pre-gothic manuscripts. The remaining thirty-four leaves, which contain books three and four, are written in double columns, a scribal practice introduced around this time that would grow in popularity until the Renaissance, when humanist scribes returned to the earlier practice.[60]

Another interesting feature of this manuscript is its binding. A later, sixteenth-century Italian tacketed binding, with prominent leather overbands and decorative lacing, replaces the medieval original. Tacketed limp vellum bindings were generally used for accounting ledgers, as evidenced in this example by the numbers and calculations scribbled in brown ink on the covers. An inscription at the bottom of the first leaf reinforces the book's Italian provenance, since it reads 'Iste liber est monasterii s[an]c[t]i salvatoris de venetiis. Ego fr. petrus venetus filius simonis lanzini m[er]chatori vini venetis' ('This book is from the monastery of St Salvatore of Venice. I, Brother Peter of Venice, son of Simon Lanzini, wine merchant of Venice'). Another inscription, this time in substitution code, is recorded on the verso of leaf sixty-seven and may be deciphered as follows: 'Die quarto aprilis 1507 die sancte pasche. Iste liber est monasterii sancti salvatoris de venetiis' ('On the fourth of April 1507, day of Holy Easter. This book is from the monastery of St Salvatore of Venice').

22 Hugh of Saint Victor (c. 1096–1141). *In Salomonis Ecclesiasten homiliae*. Spain, 1175–1200.

Hugh of Saint Victor was one of the preeminent philosopher-theologians of the twelfth century. This manuscript contains his homilies on Ecclesiastes, generally accepted as his last major work. As such, it represents a synthesis of his mature thought and it was widely copied well into the thirteenth century. His Biblical commentaries, mystical writings, and theological reflections were encyclopedic in character, and upheld the importance of secular as well as religious instruction. 'Learn everything. You will see afterwards that nothing is superfluous', he insisted.[61] His many books, written while teaching in Paris, remained influential throughout the entire Middle Ages, shaping the ideas of thinkers like Meister Eckhart (c. 1260–c. 1328) and St Bonaventure (1221–1274). The place and date of this volume's creation are principally inferred from its paleographical features, which closely resemble those found in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 202 and MS 416, both dated manuscripts, as well as Beinecke MS 625. This last manuscript, a copy of the *Vitae patrum* (*Lives of the Fathers*), is known to have been produced in Toledo. Later inscriptions in Spanish in the Fisher manuscript



situate it in the Benedictine monastery of Oña in the province of Burgos. An early thirteenth-century list of that monastery's holdings, now in the Escorial, records the presence of a 'Liber iohan belet' ('John Beleth's book') in an inventory of the time. This seemingly insignificant detail takes on greater significance given that the Fisher's copy of Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Homiliae* was actually bound in the same volume as a copy of John Beleth's *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* (*Handbook of Church Offices*) until the end of the twentieth century; the book was then disbound by its owner, Joseph Pope (1921–2010), and the two treatises separated for the first time in centuries.

23 Pope Gregory I (c. 540–604). *Dialogi beati Gregorii papae.* Paris? c. 1240.

The *Dialogi* (*Dialogues*) of Pope Gregory the Great were among the most popular texts of the Middle Ages. Written as Europe was descending into what the humanist scholar Petrarch (1304–1374) would later call the 'Dark Ages', the context for the book is a lively discussion between the Pope and his deacon Peter, who claims not to know any virtuous Italians. Gregory systematically proceeds to detail the lives of numerous local saints, though the stories are mostly remembered today for their fantastic details rather than for their witness to personal sanctity. The descent of the narrative into the realm of legend caused some Protestant reformers to question the authenticity of the book's authorship, since it did not appear to represent the academic rigour associated with the accepted writings of Gregory I.[62] Central to the text is a rather lengthy biography of St Benedict (c. 480–c. 547), important since it represents a near-contemporary account of the life of the father of western monasticism. While the Fisher volume displays all the characteristics one would expect to find in a book copied in a mid-thirteenth-century Paris workshop, the *Dialogi* were not commonly transcribed there at this time; indeed, this is the only known Parisian copy of the text surviving from that century. The scribes of Paris were clearly more preoccupied with the production of Bibles, liturgical books, set texts for the schools, as well as canon law collections, than with patristic hagiographical writing of this sort, which would have seemed out of step with the scholastic agenda. Its very existence begs the question, therefore, for whom was such an elegant exemplar copied?

The upright gothic script is written in two columns throughout with the majuscules touched in red. One of the most interesting features of this book, however, is its ruling. Ruling, of course, is necessary to ensure that the lines of text appear perfectly straight to the reader. Generally speaking, the more expensive the book the more elaborately it was ruled, and in some cases the complicated patterns seem to serve no useful purpose other than to demonstrate to the viewer the perfect geometrical proportion of the page. They are particularly evident if the book has not subsequently been trimmed in rebinding. Counterintuitive to modern practice, the lines were almost never erased. Until the twelfth century, most manuscripts were ruled in hardpoint or drypoint, meaning that no actual line was written in lead or ink. Instead, the impression of a line was made using a stylus, or the back of a knife. In Arabic and some European Renaissance manuscripts, the parchment was even rubbed over boards across which strings were

De prophia que eidem regi to
tile facta est.
De eiico demoiaw liberato.
De prophia destructionis mona
sterii sui.
De flatione sublato ꝛ per spi
ritum cognito.
De mappul' a seruo di acceptis.
De stupba cogitacõne pueri per
spm cognita.
De ducentil farine modijs fa
mule xpi aũ cellam inuentis.
De fabrica monasterij terrael
nensil p uisionẽ dispolita.
De anculil dei que post mortẽ
per oblationem eius cõmu
nionj sunt reddite.
De puerulo monacho quem se
pultum terra proiecit.
De monacho qui ingrato eodẽ
monasterium egredieus. draco
uem comẽ se in itinie inuenit.
De elephantẽ olo curato.
De solidis p miracl'm debitoꝛ
reditis.
De ampulla uitrea in sara pro
iecta non fracta.
De dolio uacuo ꝛ oleo repleto.
De monacho ademõio liberato.
De ligato rustico ꝛ solo eius
ilu soluto.
De mortuo suscitato.
De miracl'o scolastice sororis ei.
De anima sororis eius qualiꝫ
de corpore sit egressa.

De mundo ante oculos eius collecto
ꝛ alia germani capuane ciuitatis epi.
De eo quod regula monachoꝝ
conscripserit.
De prophetia sui exitus fratribus
denuntiata.
De insana muliere p eius specu
sanata.

Incipit secundus liber dyalogoꝝ sancti gregorij pp. ur
bis romane uenerabilis
gia benedicti ꝛ nomine. ab ipso
puericie sue tpe
coꝝ gerens senile.
Fratem quippe mo
ribus transiens. nulli animi
uoluptati dedit. sed dum in
hac terra adhuc esset. quo
tempoaliter uiuere uti potu
isset. despexit. iam qi arido
mundum cum flore. Qui li
beriori genere ex puinicia
milie ecclie. romane uberta
tibus literarum studijs tra
ditus fuerat. sed o multoꝝ
mentes p abrupta uitiorũ cuerte
cum quẽ quasi in tugrelu
mundi posuerat. retrahere
pdem. ne si quid de sciencia
eius attingeret. ipe p modi
quoq; quasi in immane pel
picium totus iret. despectis
tragi literarum studijs.

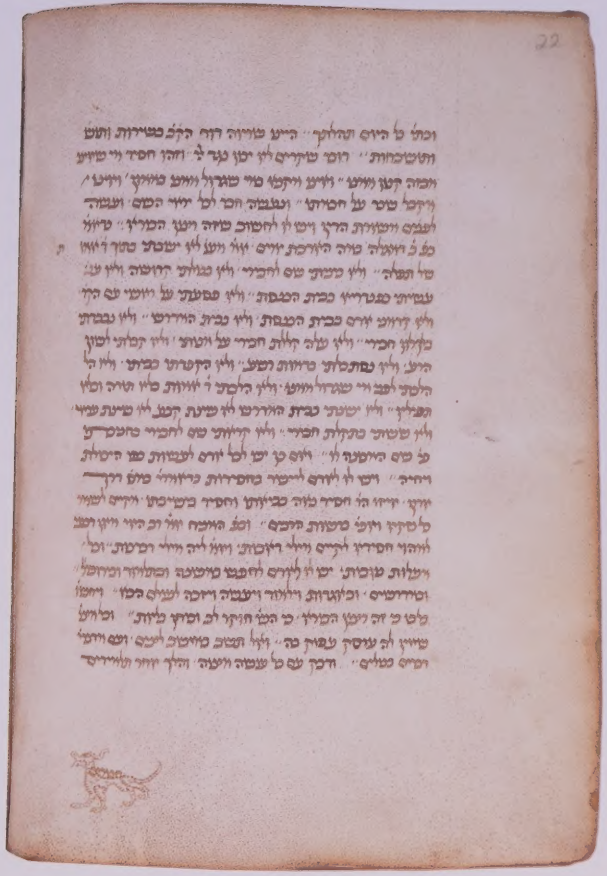
attached in order to create the impression of the lines on the surface.[63] Around the beginning of the twelfth century guide lines start to be ruled in what looks like pencil. Since graphite was not used until about the seventeenth century, these lines were actually created using lead or plummet, with ink being introduced in the fourteenth century.[64] The Fisher copy of the Gregory's *Dialogi* is ruled in lead, with varying patterns used throughout the book. Ruling continues across columns, with full-length vertical bounding lines at the inner and outer margins, as well as between the columns themselves.

The manuscript was likely in the collection assembled by Giovanni Saibante of Verona (fl. first half of the eighteenth century). By 1734, some 1,321 manuscripts were recorded in his library, including 102 volumes in Greek and seventy in Hebrew. The larger part of the collection was eventually sold in Paris and made its way into the library of Bertram Ashburnham (1797–1878), 4th Earl of Ashburnham, before finally being repatriated by the Italian government in 1884.[65] But some of Saibante's manuscripts, including this one, were brought to England by the Abbé Luigi Celotti (1759–1843) and featured in the London Sotheby's sale of Saibante items that took place on 26 February 1821.[66]

24 Eleazar ben Judah of Worms (c. 1176–1238). *Moreh Ḥaṭa'im*. Italy, 14th century.

Moreh Ḥaṭa'im (*Guide for Sinners*) was composed by Eleazar ben Yehudah (Eleazar son of Judah) mi-Garmaiza (of Worms, Germany), one of the great leaders of the German Pietists (*Ḥasidei Ashkenaz*). This Jewish ascetic, mystical movement flourished in the Rhineland region in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Eleazar was a student of Rabbi Yehudah he-Ḥasid (1150–1217), or Judah the Pious, who was the movement's greatest leader and the author of *Sefer Ḥasidim* (*Book of the Pious*), its foundational composition. One of several works by Eleazar, *Moreh Ḥaṭa'im* takes the form of a guide, a penitential of sorts, for those who wish to confess and atone for their sins.[67] An example of the teachings included in this guide and of the group's ascetical outlook can be found on the first page of the manuscript: 'Anyone who fasts [literally, 'afflicts himself'] four times a year for three consecutive days and nights, the Lord will forgive his sins.'

But the interest of this codex, written on vellum in a rather small, square, Italian script, extends beyond this single work. For following the *Moreh Ḥaṭa'im*, it contains various other works in succession, copied in the same hand, and the relationship between all of these works is not entirely clear. They include such works as Psalms 119–134 (of which 120–134 are known as the Songs of Ascent (*Shirei Ha-*



ma'alot), because they all begin with the words 'Shir Hama'alot' (or 'la-Hama'alot')); *piyutim* (hymns); *teḥinah u-ṿidui* (penitential supplications); and more. Furthermore, the margins of many pages of this manuscript, especially at the beginning, include excerpts from the *responsa* of the Ge 'onim (the heads of the prominent Babylonian rabbinic academies in the seventh to eleventh centuries) and later authorities, such as Rashi (1040–1105), Rabbenu Tam (1100–1171), and Moses Maimonides (1138–1204). In many places, these *responsa*, written in a different hand, do not seem to be related to the main text alongside which they are written. Indeed, this aligns with a phenomenon observed in some Ashkenazi manuscripts, which have one text copied in the centre and an entirely different text in the margin.[68] In addition to these texts, the margins of the manuscript also feature two small sketches; the subject of one is an unidentified four-legged animal, while the subject of the other cannot be identified at all.

trone de qua ē dō modica cām ad infirmitatē trāsī
& colore mutatus i uestrere senectutis ānuere · & qñ
puericiā i infirmitatē & morte iuentus mutat effacatur
ps. hō uanitati similis frēs est & dies eius qñ ūbra pterit · & sī
sicut lucerna aduentat · & sicut scintilla i mari · Sapi. v.
Compatus spume glacia que ato pcella dispargitur
& lamigina que subito auento rapitur · & fumo qui ato
diffunditur & ad nichilum redigitur · Scda pars de tono
rimorū & ābz exemplis cognoscat qd uerbū dei
Dilectī dei ml que pmeuit deo placeat · tanta &
ad tonū pietatis · sunt aūt ser tacti / huius pris · saluator ·
attractoria pietatis · que sunt · ¶ Verbum dei · ¶ Incarnatio
nē dei ¶ Incarnatio xpi · ¶ Passio eius ¶ Festa beate
urgit · ¶ Exemplū eius mūe · ¶ Compassio siue mia
cribitur pauplb & amicis xpi · ¶ Intēo ergo tacto ordi
tanda sunt · vij · circa ubū dei · ¶ Primo / ex quib; casib;
placeat / quomodo deo placeat · ¶ Secdo / quō dyabolo
displiceat · ¶ Tertio / quō audienti digne suscipienti p
sit · ¶ Quarto a quibus pferri debeat · ¶ Quinto / quib;
subtrahitur · ¶ Sexto / qualiter suscipi debeat · ¶ Sep
timo / a quibus & inquibus homo illud addiscat · Qd
uerbum dei deo placeat capitum pmū :—

25 Stephen of Bourbon (c. 1180–1261). *Liber pantheon*. Southern France or Spain, 1300–1330.

Although only acquired by the Fisher Library in 2016, this early-fourteenth-century manuscript of Stephen of Bourbon's *Liber pantheon* has been in Toronto since 1989, when it was purchased by the late collector Joseph Pope (1921–2010). When it entered Pope's Bergendal Collection, the manuscript was bound with a thirteenth-century copy of *De miseria humane conditionis* by Pope Innocent III (1160/1161–1216), but the two texts were separated and each one rebound in red goatskin by the Toronto bookbinder Donald Taylor.[69] Among the manuscript's other recent owners was Count Paul Durrieu (1855–1925), an art historian and collector of medieval manuscripts. Durrieu wrote perceptive studies of several manuscripts, including some of those in his own collection, but unfortunately appears not have written about this particular item.[70] Of the earlier history of the manuscript very little can be traced, apart from the fact that it was originally made for a brother in holy orders. This is apparent from an inscription just before the *explicit*, and in the hand of one of the scribes who copied out the main text, that begins 'Iste liber est fratris …' ('This book belongs to brother …'); the rest of the inscription, however, has been erased. The evidence of the script, and in particular of the abbreviations used, suggests that the manuscript was made in Spain or Southern France in the first three decades of the fourteenth century. The manuscript also features a striking decorative scheme, with the pen flourishes surrounding several initials extending into elaborate depictions of fish, a traditional Christian symbol.

The text of the *Liber pantheon* comprises a collection of exempla, moralizing anecdotes suitable for the preparation of sermons, originally compiled by Stephen in a treatise known as the *Tractatus de diversis materiis predicabilibus* (*Treatise on Various Preachable Materials*). The *Tractatus* included over three thousand exempla, and the *Liber pantheon* is a revised and abridged version of this text. Such collections of exempla were popular in the thirteenth century—Stephen assembled his collection between c. 1250 and his death in 1261—largely as a result of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1214. One of the major issues discussed at the Council was the spread of heresy and the measures required to combat it, and a recommendation was made that preachers should focus on popular themes that were accessible to a wide audience. Stephen, who as an inquisitor himself was directly involved in investigating cases of heresy, no doubt had this recommendation in mind when working on the *Tractatus*. The themes touched upon include blasphemy, sloth, anger, sin, sadness, and death, but also compassion and joy.

CASE V:

SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY

Throughout the Middle Ages, science and philosophy were closely related to, and indeed indistinguishable from, each other. Both developed, moreover, in the context of Christian—and, in Western Europe, specifically Catholic—theology.

The language of science in antiquity, even under the Roman Empire, was Greek, and in the Early Middle Ages most of the scientific knowledge of the ancient world was quickly lost to the Latin-speaking West. Such remnants as survived were often incorporated into largely non-scientific texts: *De Genesi ad litteram* (*On the Literal Meaning of Genesis*) by St Augustine (354–430), for example, contains passages on geometry that derive ultimately from Euclid (fl. 300 BCE). Later in the Middle Ages, contact with the Islamic world led to renewed access to scientific knowledge in the form of Latin translations of Arabic texts, many of which were translations of or commentaries on Greek originals. The impact of Islamic learning was broad, but was felt especially in the fields of mathematics, astronomy, and medicine.

The philosophy of Western Europe in the Middle Ages falls into two distinct periods, the first from the end of antiquity to the twelfth century, the second from the twelfth century to the end of the Middle Ages. In the first period, the influence of Augustine and Boethius (c. 477–524), both of whom were Christians writing just as the ancient world began to give way to the medieval, was pervasive. As a result, early medieval philosophy was often mystical in nature, being influenced by elements of Neoplatonic mysticism preserved in Augustine and Boethius, and in patristic writing more generally. Logic and reason were not absent, however, with Boethius' translations of the *Categoriae* (*Categories*) and *De interpretatione* (*On Interpretation*), two works on logic by Aristotle (384 BCE–322 BCE), proving particularly influential. Western European philosophy was transformed in the twelfth century by the rediscovery, through translation into Latin, of the rest of the Aristotelian corpus. The application of Aristotle's methods of philosophical analysis to Christian theology led to a new approach to learning called Scholasticism, which emphasized the use of dialectical reasoning through disputation to resolve apparent contradictions. Scholasticism flourished in particular in the newly founded universities, where it remained the dominant educational method until the sixteenth century.

Jewish thought was similarly reintroduced to Greek philosophy through translation. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, many Jews (but particularly Hellenized, Greek-speaking Jews) were greatly influenced by and in dialogue with

Greek philosophy, the best example being Philo of Alexandria (c. 20 BCE–c. 50 CE). Following a long break, Jews became reacquainted with Greek (and especially Aristotelian) philosophy from the ninth and tenth centuries on. By this time, however, many Jews were living under Islamic rule, and they therefore accessed the Greek philosophical tradition through Arabic translations, interpretations, and adaptations.

26 Peter Lombard (c. 1096–1160). *Sententiarum libri IV.* Paris? late 13th century.

Peter Lombard was one of the great luminaries of the early Scholastic movement and a friend of both Abelard (c. 1079–1142) and Hugh of Saint-Victor (c. 1096–1141). The *Sententiae* (*Sentences*), his most famous work, rapidly became the essential handbook of theology throughout Christendom, influencing the thought of such intellects as St Albert the Great (1193–1280) and St Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) in the thirteenth century. Based on the glossing conventions of earlier scholars, Lombard here collects and interpolates the Christian Scriptures with the writings of the early Church Fathers, producing a coherent whole that is a masterpiece of Scholastic literature. This copy, which its cramped gothic minuscule script dates to the late thirteenth century, is typical of the schoolbooks used in the new Parisian colleges established towards the end of the High Middle Ages. Indeed, a commentary on Lombard's *Sententiae* was expected of every Master of Theology and the text was a regular feature of examinations until the end of the medieval period. The *mise-en-page* of the Fisher copy is particularly interesting, with triangular indentations in red ink indicating the beginning of each new sections. Towards the beginning of the volume, in an even more cramped script, may be found a portion of the Gospel of St Matthew and the Apostles' Creed transcribed in Greek; numerous annotations, in a variety of hands from different time periods, may be found throughout.

The manuscript was a gift in 1917 from Sir Edmund Walker (1848–1924) to the newly established Royal Ontario Museum. Previously, it had formed part of the William and Agnes Learmont Collection of Montreal. It was transferred to the University of Toronto's Department of Rare Books and Special Collections in 1964.

ΚΕΦ. α'.

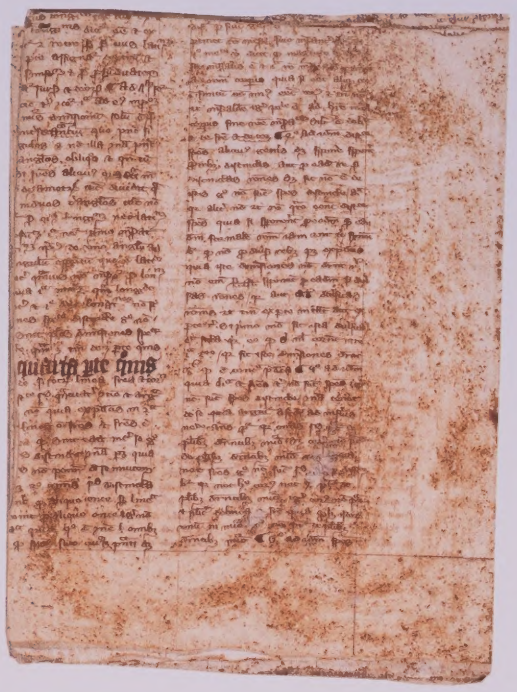
ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΝ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ.

ΒΙΒΛΟΣ γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, υἱοῦ Δ
Ἀβραάμ. Ἀβραὰμ ἐγέννησε τὸν
Ἰσαάκ· Ἰσαὰκ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν
Ἰακώβ· Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν
Ἰούδαν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ· Ἰούδας
δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Φαρὲς καὶ τὸν Ζάρα ἐκ τῆς
Θαμάρ· Φαρὲς δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἑσρώμ·
Ἑσρὼμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀράμ· Ἀρὰμ δὲ
ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀμιναδάβ· Ἀμιναδὰβ δὲ
ἐγέννησε τὸν Ναασσών· Ναασσὼν δὲ ἐγέννησε
τὸν Σαλμών· Σαλμὼν δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Βοὲς ἐκ τῆς
Ῥαχάβ· Βοὲς δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωβὴδ ἐκ τῆς
Ῥούθ· Ἰωβὴδ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰεσσαί·
Ἰεσσαὶ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Δαβὶδ τὸν
βασιλέα· Δαβὶδ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐγέννησε τὸν
Σολομῶνα ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Οὐρίου·
Σολομὼν δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ῥοβοάμ·
Ῥοβοὰμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀβιά· Ἀβιὰ δὲ
ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀσάφ· Ἀσὰφ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωσαφάτ·
Ἰωσαφὰτ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωράμ· Ἰωρὰμ δὲ ἐγέννησε
τὸν Ὀζίαν· Ὀζίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωαθάμ·
Ἰωαθὰμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἄχαζ· Ἄχαζ δὲ
ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἐζεκίαν· Ἐζεκίας δὲ ἐγέννησε
τὸν Μανασσῆ· Μανασσῆς δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν
Ἀμών· Ἀμὼν δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωσίαν·
Ἰωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰεχονίαν καὶ τοὺς
ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας Βα-
βυλῶνος. Καὶ μετὰ τὴν μετοικεσίαν Βα-
βυλῶνος Ἰεχονίας ἐγέννησε τὸν Σαλαθιήλ·
Σαλαθιὴλ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ζοροβάβελ·
Ζοροβάβελ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀβιούδ·
Ἀβιοὺδ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἐλιακείμ· Ἐλιακεὶμ δὲ
ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀζώρ· Ἀζὼρ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Σα-
δώκ· Σαδὼκ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀχείμ· Ἀχεὶμ δὲ ἐγέ-
ννησε τὸν Ἐλιούδ· Ἐλιοὺδ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἐλεάζαρ·
Ἐλεάζαρ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ματθὰν· Ματθὰν δὲ ἐγέννησε
τὸν Ἰακώβ· Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωσὴφ τὸν ἄνδρα
Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος

Χριστός. Πᾶσαι οὖν αἱ γενεαὶ ἀπὸ Ἀβ
ραὰμ ἕως Δαβὶδ γενεαὶ δεκατέσσαρες καὶ
ἀπὸ Δαβὶδ ἕως τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυ-
λῶνος γενεαὶ δεκατέσσαρες· καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μετοικεσίας Βα-
βυλῶνος ἕως τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεαὶ δεκατέσσαρες.
Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
ἡ γένεσις οὕτως ἦν· μνηστευθείσης γὰρ τῆς
μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας τῷ Ἰωσὴφ
πρὸ τοῦ συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εὑρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ
ἐχούσῃ ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου· Ἰωσὴφ
δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς δίκαιος ὢν καὶ μὴ θέ-
λων αὐτὴν δειγματίσαι ἐβουλήθη
λάθρᾳ ἀπολῦσαι αὐτήν· ταῦτα δὲ
αὐτοῦ ἐνθυμηθέντος ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος Κυ
ρίου κατ' ὄναρ ἐφάνη αὐτῷ λέγων· Ἰω-
σὴφ υἱὸς Δαβίδ, μὴ φοβηθῇς παρα-
λαβεῖν Μαρίαν τὴν γυναῖκά σου·
τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν ἐκ Πνεύ-
ματός ἐστιν ἁγίου· τέξεται δὲ υἱὸν καὶ
καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ
ΙΗΣΟΥΝ·
αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν
αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν.
Τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ
ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου
λέγοντος ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει
καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσι τὸ
ὄνομα αὐτοῦ
ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ
ὅ ἐστι μεθερμηνευόμενον μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ
Θεός. Διεγερθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰωσὴφ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου
ἐποίησεν ὡς προσέταξεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἄ

27 *Natural Philosophy Fragments.* Italy? 14th century?

Much about this manuscript remains a mystery. It appears to preserve a medieval treatise on physics, but the name of the work and the identity of the author are unknown. Nor can we be sure when and where this particular copy was made, though the script—a form of gothic cursive—suggests fourteenth-century Italy. The manuscript was copied out by several different hands, all of which made extensive use of abbreviations, and features very little in the way of ornamentation: the chapter headings are in a gothic bookhand, somewhat crudely formed, and there is a single initial in red. All of these factors—the choice of cursive as opposed to a more formal bookhand, the abundant abbreviations, and the lack of ornamentation—tend to the conclusion that this manuscript was produced as a relatively inexpensive working copy, perhaps for student use in a university context.



The fact that the manuscript has survived at all owes a great deal to chance. From its physical condition it is clear that it was used by a bookbinder in the binding of a later book. This was a common fate for manuscripts that were deemed to be obsolete, whether because their contents were simply no longer of interest or for a more specific reason, such as the appearance of a printed edition of the text. Individual leaves from medieval manuscripts can fre-quently be found serving as pastedowns in later bindings and multiple leaves could be laminated together to form the actual covers for a book. The presence of paste on both sides of the surviving leaves of this manuscript suggests that it suffered the latter fate. This has inevitably caused some damage, with some parts of the text almost entirely obscured by binder's paste. Moreover, in the process of recycling the manuscript into a new binding, the binder trimmed down the original leaves, with the resulting loss of substantial portions of text. For all that we may be inclined to curse the binder for treating the manuscript so roughly, however, it was the decision to recycle it that ultimately led to its preservation.

Part of the Fisher Library's world class collection of works relating to the history of science, the manuscript was the posthumous gift of Stillman Drake (1910–1993). An eminent historian of science who specialized in Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), Drake assembled a fine collection of manuscripts and printed books relating to the great Renaissance scientist, a collection that now lies at the heart of the Fisher's history of science holdings.

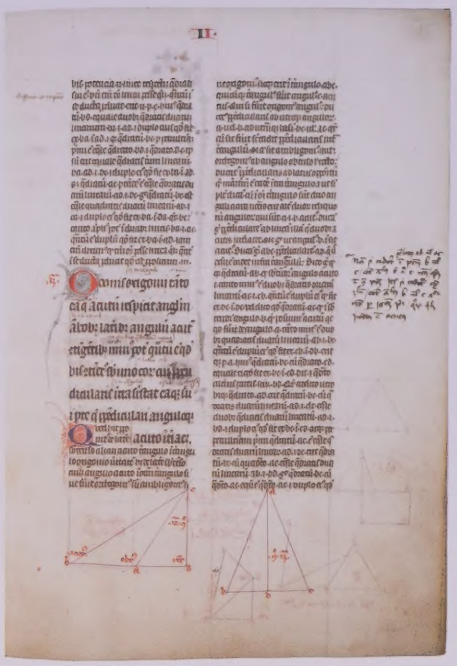
28 Ramon Llull (c. 1232–1316). *Liber de uenatione substantiae, accidentis et compositi.* Padua or Venice? 1375–1425.

The Catalan polymath Ramon Llull is a somewhat controversial figure who, over the course of history, has been acclaimed as a great philosopher and mystic, as well as condemned as a heretic and anti-Semite. After having experienced a radical conversion in his youth, he abandoned a life of licentiousness for the spiritual, forsaking his wife and family in the process, and eventually becoming a Franciscan tertiary. Growing up in Majorca, he was surrounded by the large Muslim community that had remained, much of it enslaved, after the island was conquered by James I of Aragon (1213–1276) in 1229. Living in such close quarters, it is not surprising that among Llull's chief influences were the Muslim philosophers Al-Farabi (d. 951), Avicenna (d. 1037), and Ibn Sab'cin (1217–1271). Llull, who would ardently campaign for the conversion of Muslims and Jews to Christianity, was also among the first thinkers to advocate strongly for the study of Arabic and Semitic languages in order to unlock the wisdom of those traditions. A humanist of sorts before his time, his thought would eventually shape the theories of such thinkers as Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464) and Gottfried Leibniz (1646–1716).

This manuscript volume actually consists of three separate treatises. The first work, whose title translates as *Book on the Quest for Substance, Accidence, and Composites*, is followed by the *Liber novus de anima rationali* (*New Book on the Rational Soul*) and the *Liber novus physicorum et compendiosus* (*New and Succinct Book of Physics*). The small, neat gothic bookhands of at least two scribes and the general decoration argue for a northern Italian origin for this handsome manuscript. A rather large number of corrections are evident up to the forty-fifth leaf; these corrections relate in particular to passages evidently omitted in the original copying process, which may suggest the book was realized in a commercial rather than an academic setting.

29 Euclid (fl. 300 bc). *Elementa*. France, late 14th century.

The mathematical, and more specifically the geometrical, knowledge of Western Europe in the Early Middle Ages was deposited chiefly in texts of a hybrid nature. These texts drew their geometrical content from a variety of late antique and very early medieval sources— Augustine (354–430), Boethius (c. 477–524), Cassiodorus (c. 484–c. 585), and a collection of late Roman surveying manuals known as the *Corpus agrimensorum Romanorum* (Corpus of Roman Surveyors) among them— and mingled this content with theological material designed to exalt geometry and reveal its usefulness in the contemplation and understanding of Christian creation. In fact, the theological portions of such texts often ended up overwhelming the geometrical. It was not until the twelfth century that the full text of the *Elementa* (*Elements*), Euclid's great treatise on geometry, became available in Western Europe in the form



of Latin translations by Adelard of Bath (c. 1080–c. 1145) and Gerard of Cremona (c. 1114–1187). Each of these translators worked from Arabic versions of the *Elementa*; it was not until the sixteenth century that the Greek text became widely available in the West.

Adelard of Bath, whose translation is preserved in this manuscript, was exposed to Arabic science during his extensive travels in the Mediterranean basin, including in particular Sicily and the Levant. His desire to share this knowledge with scholars in the Latin-speaking world is evident not only from his translation of Euclid, but from his other works too, which included translations of works by al-Khwarizmi (c. 780–after 847) and Abu Ma'shar (787–886). Adelard's Euclid proved influential and was known to the thirteenth century Italian mathematician Campanus of Novara (c. 1220–1296), who produced his own version of the *Elementa* based on Adelard's translation. This Adelard-Campanus version established itself as the standard text of the *Elementa* in the Latin-speaking West and was the basis of the earliest printed editions of Euclid.[71]

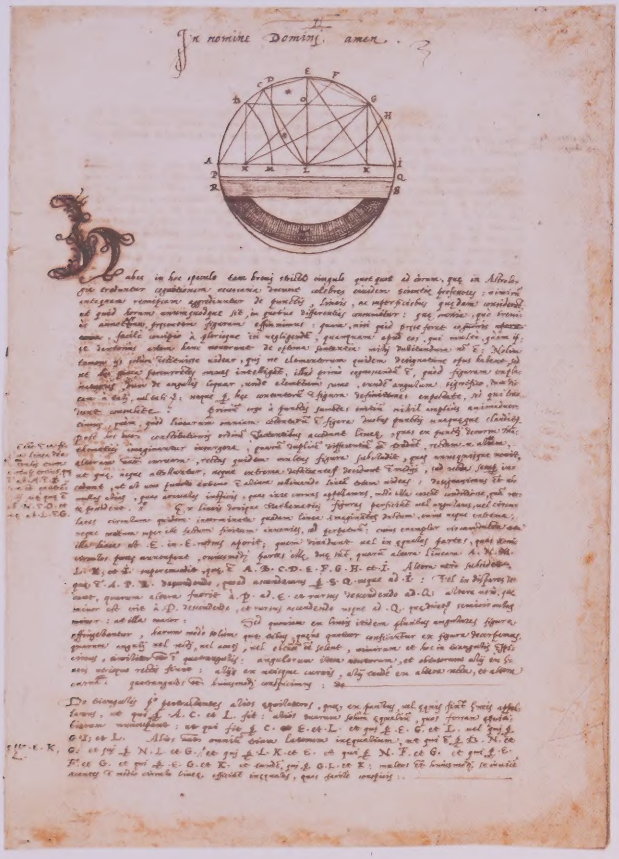
Both script and decoration suggest a French origin for the manuscript and a date sometime towards the end of the fourteenth century—the date '1398 10 noue[mbris]' ('10 November 1398') has been added after the *explicit*, possibly by the manuscript's original owner, providing a *terminus ante quem*. The manuscript includes innumerable decorated initials and a gilded initial at the beginning of each book (with the exception of books thirteen and fifteen), but the boldest element in the decorative scheme is the illuminated and historiated initial with which the manuscript begins. This initial shows Euclid seated and holding the instruments of geometry: a set of compasses or dividers, with which he is measuring a globe, and a plumb line and plummet suspended from a level. The iconography is significant. The depiction of Euclid, and in particular his measuring of a globe with a pair of compasses, is reminiscent of the many medieval depictions of Christ as a geometer using compasses to measure creation. Whereas earlier medieval texts on geometry had included extensive theological material, the text of Euclid's *Elements* is purely pagan. The depiction of Euclid using Christian iconography is meant to indicate that the text that follows, though pagan, is nevertheless worthy of attention from Christian readers.

The making of a medieval manuscript was a slow, wearying business, and the *explicit* of this manuscript ends with the scribe's plea: 'Da mihi potum!' ('Give me a drink!').

On loan from a private collection.

30 *Treatises on Geometry and Astronomy.* Italy, 15th century?

This humanist manuscript, produced in Italy sometime in the fifteenth (or perhaps sixteenth) century, preserves two brief treatises on geometry and astronomy. The identity of the author is in each case unknown and neither has been published. The greater part of the first treatise, which is incomplete, covers various angles, triangles, curves, and quadrangles that can be constructed within a circle, as illustrated in the upper part of diagram that accompanies it (letters A–Q). The treatise ends with a note stating that there will follow discussion of regular surfaces, both flat and curved, as illustrated in the lower part of the diagram (letters R–T), but the text breaks off at this point. The second treatise consists of a short discussion of the arrangement of the heavens, with several accompanying diagrams. Both treatises are accompanied by marginal notes in a near contemporary hand, with the notes to the second treatise referencing the work of the great thirteenth-century astronomer Johannes de Sacrobosco (c. 1195–c. 1256), whose *Tractatus de sphaera* (*Treatise on the Sphere*) was widely read until at least the



end of the sixteenth century. Italian humanists played a leading role in the development of mathematics and astronomy throughout the Renaissance, and the two treatises are typical of the interest in these intertwined fields during this period. The manuscript also exemplifies the intertwining of science and religion at the time, as the first treatise opens with the invocation: 'In nomine Domini, amen' ('In the name of the Lord, amen').

The manuscript is written on a single sheet of paper, folded once into a bifolium, using black iron-gall ink that has faded to brown. This fading results from the oxidization of iron salts—the ink effectively becomes rusty. The elaborate gothic initial with which the first treatise opens also provides a clear example of the caustic nature of such ink, the ink having burnt a small hole through the paper. This causticity comes from the oak galls, rich in tannic and gallic acids, from which the ink is prepared. It even gives ink its name, which derives from the Latin term for ink, 'incaustum' (literally, 'burnt in').[72]

The manuscript was formerly in the collection of the eminent historian of science Stillman Drake (1910–1993), coming to the Fisher as a posthumous gift.

31 Richard of Middleton (c. 1249–c. 1308). *In quartum sententiarum Petri Lombardi commentarius*. Lombardy? 1400–1450, with additions after 1475.

The author of this commentary on the fourth book of Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* (*Sentences*), who is also known by his Latin name Ricardus de Mediavilla, was an English or French Franciscan who was known as the 'doctor solidus copiosus' ('the serious, eloquent doctor'). Although he was firmly in the philosophical tradition of his fellow Franciscan, St Bonaventure (1221–1274), he was also influenced by the Dominican St Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), especially in the realm of metaphysics. In the fourth book of the *Sententiae*, Lombard and, consequently, Richard turn their attention to the nature of the Sacraments. Richard's commentaries on each of the four books were often bound separately, as is the case with the Fisher copy, and they enjoyed great popularity towards the end of the Middle Ages (as did his *Quodlibeta*). Richard's reputation as a scholar was significant enough that a generic woodcut portrait of him appears in the great *Liber chronicarum*, also known as the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, printed in 1493, almost two hundred years after his demise. The Fisher manuscript is very densely transcribed in a highly abbreviated gothic cursive script, with very little decoration save the alternating red and blue initials found throughout.

Among the most interesting features of the book, however, is the colophon to a later index added at the end of the main text, in which the scribe identifies himself:

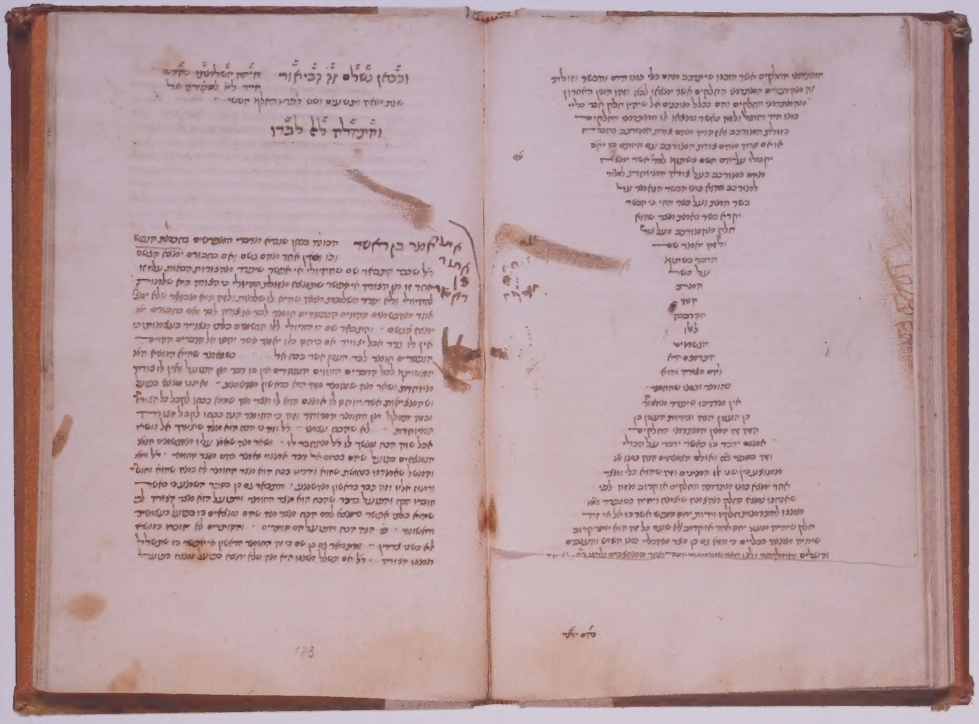
Ego iohannes andreas de capelis civis cumanus precibus fratris nicholay de laude ordinis minorum de observantia habitatoris de presenti in conventu sancta crucis ext. et prope muros cumanos scripsi et me superscripsi signumque meum apposui. YHANCAPR.

Thus did Johannes Andreas de Capelis, an otherwise unrecorded scribe, explain that he was a citizen of Como and member of the Franciscan Convent of the Holy Cross near that city, and that he had copied the index—perhaps from the 1489 edition of Richard's commentary printed in Venice by Dionysius Bertochus (d. c.1502)—at the request of Brother Nicholas de Laude, presumably a member of the same house. As with so many medieval manuscripts, the volume has been rebound (in this case around the turn of the twentieth century), and whatever provenance information had been preserved in earlier bindings is lost.

32 Levi ben Gershom (1288–1344). *Be'ur ha-Ralbag la-Be'ur ha-ḳatsar shel Ibn Rushd la-ketavim shel Arisṭo*. Southern Italy? 1435–1436.

The philosophical text preserved in this manuscript is a commentary on the short commentary on the writings of Aristotle (384 BCE–322 BCE) by Ibn Rushd (1126–1198). A renowned Aristotelian philosopher in his own right, Ibn Rushd, known also as Averroes, was a Muslim philosopher from Andalusia, Spain. His writings and thought were very influential on Medieval Christian and Jewish thought.

This commentary on Ibn Rushd's commentary of Aristotle is by the important Medieval Franco-Jewish scholar, philosopher, and rabbi Levi ben Gershom, often known as Gersonides or by the acronym RaLBaG (for Rabbi Levi ben Gershom). Gersonides composed important commentaries on many of the books of the Bible, but his renown comes from his innovative philosophical ideas



and writings. His most important philosophical work is the *Milḥamot Hashem* (*Wars of the Lord*). A major theme of his thought is that reason and religion are not contradictory. He 'upholds the primacy of reason' and even argues that 'if reason causes us to affirm doctrines that are incompatible with the literal sense of Scripture, we are not prohibited by the Torah to pronounce the truth on these matters, for reason is not incompatible with the true understanding of the Torah'.[73] This notion was, perhaps not surprisingly, rejected by many later Jewish rabbis and philosophers, and his philosophy was widely criticized (in contrast with his Biblical commentaries, which were accepted and still hold a central place in Jewish learning).[74]

Gersonides' supercommentaries on Aristotle's works, which took him four years to compose, were probably the first works of this kind by a Jewish philosopher. In these commentaries, Gersonides focuses on philosophical issues alone, not on issues of religion or the relationship between religion and philosophy.[75] Moreover, in his commentaries 'Gersonides expresses his own ideas and does not restrict himself to explaining Averroes and Aristotle'; rather, 'He employs the supercommentaries as an occasion to practice philosophy and to add his own contributions to the history of thought'.[76]

This Friedberg manuscript contains Gersonides' supercommentaries on Aristotle's *Physics*, *On the Heavens*, *On Generation and Corruption*, *Meteorology*, and *On the Soul*. The manuscript comprises three volumes written on paper in a Sephardic hand and is possibly from Southern Italy. It is dated in two colophons to 1435 and 1436 respectively.

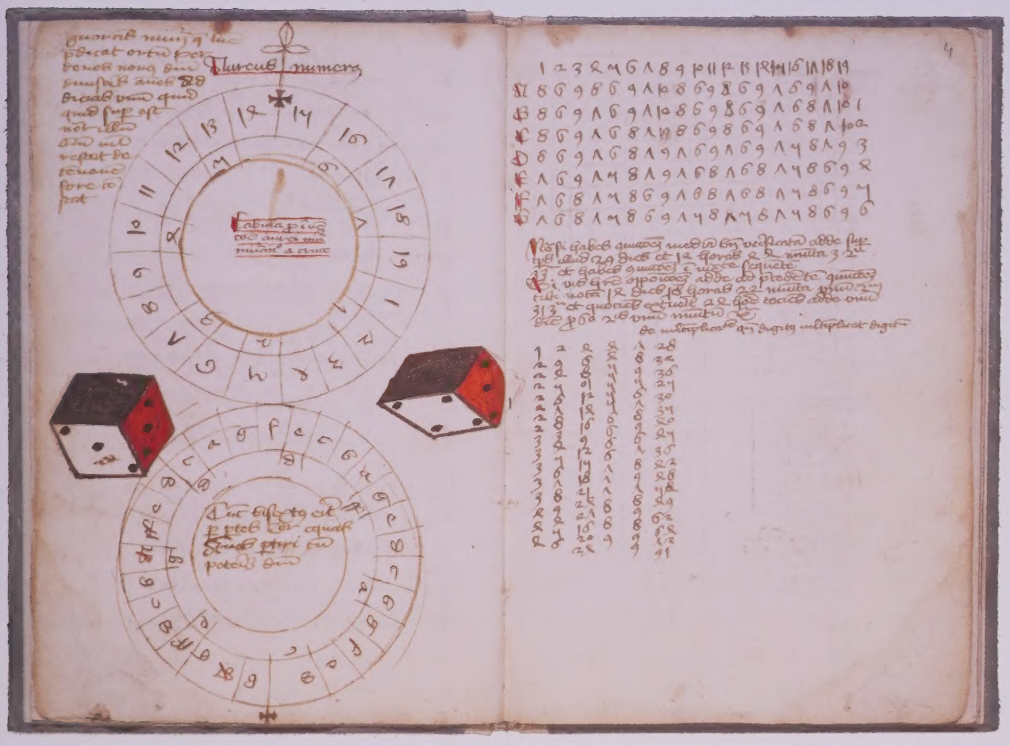
33 *Astronomical Miscellany*. Bavaria? 1459?

Both the contents of this compendium of astronomical texts and certain of its physical characteristics indicate that it was made in Southern Germany (or perhaps Austria) in or shortly after 1459. This date features prominently in the manuscript, where it is the year chosen to illustrate the method for calculating the dominical letter—a way of determining the day of the week for a given date—as well as for calculating the annual solar and lunar cycles. A date of production for the manuscript of around 1459 is corroborated by evidence from the paper used, evidence that also provides a likely place of production: the paper bears a watermark very similar to that found on paper manufactured in Würzburg in 1457, as well as in Würzburg and Innsbruck in the 1460s.

The compendium brings together various texts on astronomical topics, as well as tables, grids, and similar tools for determining planetary, stellar, lunar, and solar positions. The first (and longest) text, for example, provides instructions for the making and use of a quadrant, a variant of the astrolabe consisting of a sighting device mounted on a quarter circle that was used to measure celestial altitudes and thus map the sky. It is likely that this small compendium is an extract from a much larger collection that included texts relating to all of the areas covered by the quadrivium—a so-called quadrivium miscellany. The quadrivium, which covers the study of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music, had its origins in the educational ideas of Plato (428/427 or 424/423 BCE–348/347 BCE), though the term itself was first used by Boethius (c. 477–524) or Cassiodorus (c. 484–c. 585) in the sixth century. In the medieval university, the quadrivium would have followed the trivium—grammar, logic, and rhetoric—with the two together comprising the seven liberal arts.

The rather technical nature of the contents of the manuscript is enlivened by the inclusion of images of two pairs of dice. Dicing had a long history in Germany, with the Roman historian Tacitus (c. 56–c. 120) reporting that the Germans were so recklessly obsessed with it that they would stake their own liberty on a single throw. It remained a common pastime throughout Western Europe during the Middle Ages, though often opposed by both church and

state—St Louis (1214–1270), for example, banned the practice in both 1254 and 1256. Depictions of dice are relatively rare in medieval manuscripts, however, and their inclusion here is no doubt meant to symbolize destiny and chance, ideas closely associated with astronomy and astrology in medieval thought.



CASE VI:

HISTORY AND LAW

As with so much else in the Middle Ages, historical writing was tied inextricably to theology. Although he was not an historian himself, St Augustine (354–430) did much to establish this connection. Especially influential was his *De civitate Dei* (*City of God*), a work that grounded its theological arguments in a particular historical context—the aftermath of the sack of Rome in 410—and also included an early attempt to develop a theory of historical periodization. The actual writing of history took a number of forms. One of the most common, especially in the Early Middle Ages, was the chronicle, which in its most basic manifestation simply provided a yearly listing of events. More highly developed forms of historical writing—forms that featured connected narrative, and not just the recording of events but also their analysis—could also be found, however, with the Venerable Bede (672/673–735) and William of Tyre (c. 1130–1186) providing notable examples. Another important category was the *vita*, or life. This genre drew heavily on the Christian hagiographical tradition—that is, saints' lives—that developed in late antiquity, and ultimately on the Gospels themselves. Also influential was the Classical tradition of biography, as exemplified in particular by Suetonius (c. 89–after 122), the model taken by Einhard (c. 775–840) for his famous *Vita Karoli Magni* (*Life of Charlemagne*).

Law, and hence legal writing, in medieval Europe can be divided into two broad categories: canon law, or the law governing Church matters; and non-canon law, whether civil law (based on codification) or common law (based on precedent), which governed everything else. The earliest canon law in the Latin-speaking West was preserved in a great variety of texts, such as papal bulls and the acts of various Church councils. The disorderly nature of this system is reflected in the title of the first great systematization of Western canon law, the *Concordia discordantium canonum* (*Concordance of Discordant Canons*) of Gratian (fl. twelfth century). This enormously influential work began a process that resulted in the *Corpus iuris canonici* (Corpus of Canon Law), the main collection of Catholic canon law in the later Middle Ages. As with canon law, early medieval non-canon law was diverse, with the old Roman law being replaced in most of Western Europe by a variety of legal codes that, while influenced by the Roman tradition, drew largely on Germanic customary law. It was not until the eleventh century that Western Europe rediscovered the great codifications of Roman law made by the Emperor Justinian (482–565) in the sixth century (and preserved in the legal system of the Byzantine Empire). Following this rediscovery, Roman law

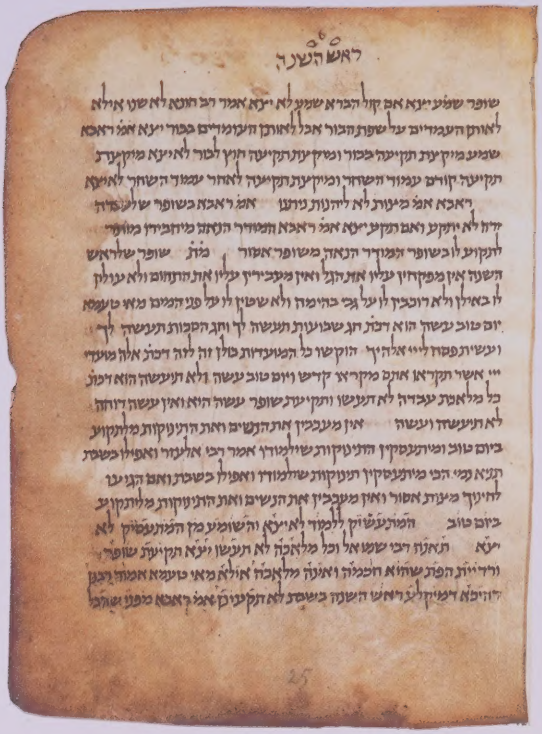
quickly reestablished itself in much of the Latin-speaking West, though there were notable exceptions—England, for example, retained the Anglo-Saxon common law.

The Jews of the medieval world rarely engaged in the writing of history. While the Hebrew Bible contains some undoubtedly historiographical books, such as Samuel and Kings—we may leave to one side questions of strict historicity—and while some Jews of the Greco-Roman period also delved into the writing of history, especially in Hellenistic fashion—most notable is Flavius Josephus (c. 37–c. 100)—from the second century until the modern period Jews appear largely to have abandoned the field of historical writing. A notable exception is the work known as *Sefer Yosippon* (*Book of Josippon*), a Hebrew paraphrase of a significant part of Josephus' writings that appeared in Southern Italy in the tenth century.

In contrast to the writing of history, the writing of *halakhah*—Jewish law—flourished throughout the medieval period. Based on the laws of the Torah (the Pentateuch), Judaism developed a complex system of oral law: the Mishnah and the Talmud, which were eventually written down in Late Antiquity. In the medieval period, this system was further developed and codifications of the *halakhah* that summarize the discussions of the Talmud were composed; the earliest known example is included in this exhibition (no. 34).

34 Yehudai ben Naḥman (fl. 757–761). *Sefer Halakhot pesuḳot*. Babylonia? 9th or 10th century.

Following the completion of the Talmud, some rabbis began producing codifications of the *halakhah*, or Jewish law, in order to summarize the discussions of the Talmud. One famous example is the *Mishneh Torah* (*Repetition of the Torah*) of Moses Maimonides (1138–1204). The earliest known of these codifications is the *Sefer Halakhot pesuḳot* (*Book of Decided Laws*), which is attributed to Rav Yehudai ben Naḥman, better known as Yehudai Gaon, one of the *Geonim*—the heads of the great Babylonian rabbinic academies between the seventh and eleventh centuries. Originally one of the *ḥakhamim* (scholars) of the academy in Pumbedita (near Baghdad), Yehudai was later appointed head of the rival academy in Sura (further south in Iraq, near Najaf).



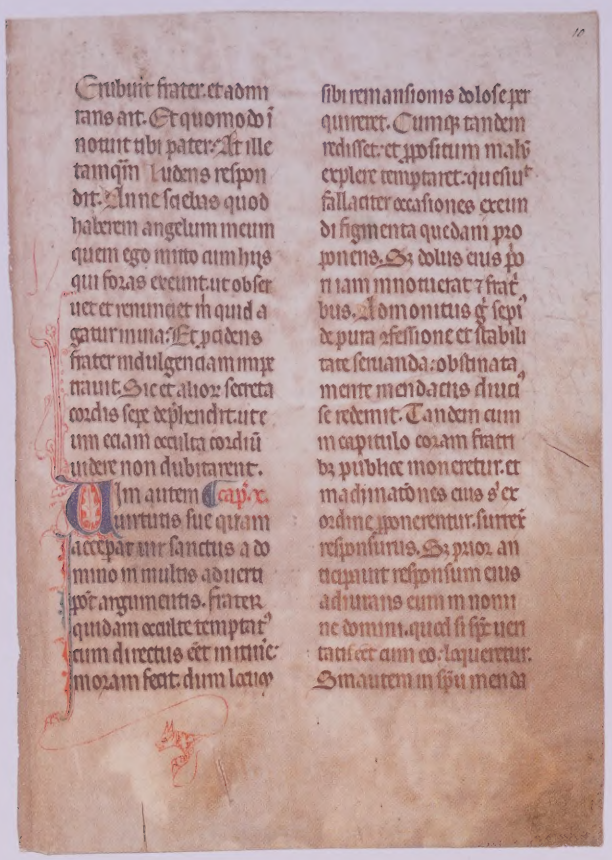
The *Halakhot pesuḳot*, codifies those laws that were relevant to the lives of Jews in Babylon in the author's time, such as laws of prayer, of Sabbaths and festivals, and of family life. It excludes, however, those areas of *halakhah* that were not relevant for them, such as laws pertaining to the Temple. The code, which was composed in Hebrew-Aramaic, was apparently well known through most of the medieval period, but it subsequently disappeared from view for several centuries, during which time it was known to exist only through citations. In the nineteenth century, a number of manuscripts with parts of the work in a Hebrew translation were found and published, but it was not until 1950 that an edition of the original Hebrew-Aramaic text was published, an edition based on this manuscript. This edition was published by the then owner of the manuscript, the bibliophile David Solomon Sassoon (1915–1985) of London.[77]

The manuscript, written on velum, dates from the late ninth or early tenth century and is thus rather close to the time of the work's original composition. It was probably copied in Babylonia: it is in an early square Babylonian or Persian hand and includes Babylonian vocalizations above the letters, a system that was abandoned after the twelfth century.[78] While the codex is missing some leaves, it is quite remarkable that it is mostly intact—310 pages are extant—and in good condition. Along with a manuscript of the *Ḥamishah ḥumshe Torah* (Pentateuch), also in the Friedberg Collection, it is the earliest book in the codex format in the Fisher Library's holdings.

35 William of Wycombe (fl. 1160). *Vita venerabilis Roberti Herefordensis episcopi.* Llantony Secunda? c. 1200.

While the characters that shaped the Wars of the Roses (1455–1485) are undoubtedly more familiar to the student of history, interesting figures also emerged from that even earlier conflict that pitted royal cousins against one another, namely the first English civil war—the Anarchy—which spanned the years 1139 to 1153. William of Wycombe, the author of this hagiographical biography of Robert de Bethune (d. 1148), states that he wrote this work to serve as his friend's memorial, but it may also have been prepared as part of an unsuccessful canonization bid, perhaps undertaken by the Augustinians of Llantony Secunda, whose prior Robert had once been, or on behalf of the Diocese of Hereford, of which he would become bishop. Only two other copies of the manuscript exist, with one in the British Library and the other at Lambeth Palace.

Anarchy appears to have been a hallmark of Robert's life. A member of the French knightly class, he had studied theology in Paris under the renowned Anselm of Laon (1050–1117) before joining the monastery of Llantony in the Welsh Marches. The house, of which Robert would eventually become the second prior, had been established by the Normans at the beginning of the twelfth century, and had been subject to raids by the local Welsh from the time of its foundation. The violence continued after his appointment as Bishop of Hereford and Robert invited his Augustinian brethren to take refuge in his diocese before arranging a more peaceful and permanent home for them in neighbouring Gloucestershire. This new establishment came to be known as Llantony Secunda. It was near there that the text of this manuscript was most likely written by Robert's secretary, William. The instability of Wales was soon exchanged, however, for the chaos of England's first great civil war. At various points during the conflict, Robert supported both contenders for the English throne, King Stephen (1092/1096–1154) and the Empress Matilda (1102–



1167), which may contribute to understanding why his cause for canonization did not enjoy broad support. Although a model bishop in many ways, no serious cult of devotion emerged in Hereford upon his death of the sort that would later emerge with respect to Thomas de Cantilupe (c. 1218–1282), Bishop of Hereford in the thirteenth century and formally canonized in 1320.

The text of the biography is written on vellum in an early gothic bookhand. The ink, which is now brown, may have originally been a rich bluish black, made using a recipe that called for the inclusion of iron salts. Over time, such inks fade to a brownish colour owing to the presence of ferrous sulphate. Decorated initials with red and blue pen flourishes appear throughout. The introductory leaves include a table of contents, making this an early example of an attempt to provide some sort of orientation to the book for the reader. Of some interest are the charming pen and ink grotesques and drolleries of animals, plants, and (in at least once case) an elf, that appear at the ends of lines and in the gutters of the book. Eight leaves are vellum replacements, likely dating to the fourteenth century, with a much simpler decoration scheme compared to the rest of the volume.

The manuscript enjoys a most interesting provenance. It appears to have been part of the Cathedral Library at Hereford before being added to the collections of the renowned Hereford antiquarians Silas Taylor (1624–1678)[79] and Thomas Bird (1772–1836).[80] It was purchased at the Bird sale of 8 March 1837 by Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), who is credited with having amassed the largest private

library of manuscript materials on record to date. The volume appeared in the Sotheby's 1965 auction of part of Phillipps's library[81] and was purchased by the New York antiquarian dealer Hans P. Kraus. Kraus then sold it to the Fisher in 1966, making it a rare medieval acquisition by the Library at the time.

36 Henry of Susa (c. 1200–1271). *Summa copiosa*. France, 1300–1325.

Henry of Susa—or Hostiensis, as he is frequently known—was a man of parts. He studied both canon and civil law at the University of Bologna, and later taught at the University of Paris. As a diplomat he undertook missions to various regions of Europe on behalf of Henry III of England (1207–1272), Pope Innocent IV (c. 1195–1254), and Pope Alexander IV (c. 1185 or 1199–1261). And under the patronage of Innocent IV in particular he enjoyed a successful career in the Church, culminating in his appointment as Cardinal Bishop of Ostia—whence the name Hostiensis. Hostiensis authored a number of legal works over the course of his career, but his greatest and most lasting achievement was the *Summa copiosa* (*Extensive Handbook*). This work, which also appears under the titles *Summa aurea* (*Golden Handbook*), *Summa archiepiscopi* (*Archbishop's Handbook*), and *Summa super titulis Decretalium* (*Handbook on the Titles of the Decretals*), draws on both strands of Hostiensis' legal training to create a synthesis of Roman and canon law. It remained influential well into the seventeenth century.

While not lavishly illustrated in terms of the number of images it contains—not counting the innumerable decorated initials, there are illustrations on only half a dozen of its nearly eight hundred pages—this manuscript of Hostiensis' *Summa* nevertheless features illustrations of very high quality, and of great art historical interest.

A number of these illustrations relate to marriage, an important topic in both canon and civil law. Like many manuscripts of the *Summa*, this copy includes a detailed table of consanguinity illustrating degrees of blood-relationship. This was a matter of great importance for establishing the legitimacy of a marriage, since both Roman and canon law forbade marriage within a certain degree of consanguinity. Looming over the table is the figure of a king. He looks sternly out at the reader and stands on the necks of two basilisks, with a third basilisk between them. The iconography here is of a king safeguarding his people against the evil of illegitimate matrimony, and has its origins in the frequent depiction in medieval art of Christ trampling an adder, basilisk, lion, and dragon, itself a Christological reworking of Psalm 91:13: 'You will walk upon the asp and the basilisk and you will trample the lion and the dragon.' The manuscript also features an

s hic loc De sponsalibus et matrimonio. Sponsalia sunt mutue future coniugii promissiones. Et dicta sponsalia a sponsione stipulatione. Sponsio autem est promissio alicuius rei fiende vel dande. Et sponsor dicitur ille qui promittit. Et sponsa illa cui promittitur. Et sponsalia dicta sponsa quia ea sponsor promittit. Et nota quod sponsalia sunt de futuro. Nam de presenti vel de preterito non dicuntur sponsalia. Et ideo si quis dicat. Ego accipio te in meam uxorem. Et illa respondeat. Ego accipio te in meum virum. Non sunt sponsalia. Sed matrimonium. Et nota quod sponsalia fiunt per verba. Per scripturam. Per nuncium. Per traditionem arre. Per copulam carnalem. Per verba fiunt. Si quis dicat alicui. Ego accipio te in meam uxorem. Et ille respondeat. Ego accipio te in meum virum. Per scripturam fiunt. Si quis mittat alicui litteras in quibus contineatur quod ipse accipiat eam in uxorem. Et illa similiter mittat ei litteras in quibus contineatur quod illa accipiat eum in virum. Per nuncium fiunt. Si quis mittat alicui nuncium suum dicens ei quod accipiat eam in uxorem. Et illa similiter mittat nuncium suum dicens ei quod illa accipiat eum in virum. Per traditionem arre fiunt. Si quis det alicui denarium vel aliquid aliud in arra. Et illa similiter det ei denarium vel aliquid aliud in arra. Per copulam carnalem fiunt. Si quis cognoscat aliquam mulierem. Et illa similiter cognoscat eum. Et nota quod sponsalia contrahuntur. Inter absentes. Inter presentes. Inter absentes. Si quis mittat alicui nuncium suum vel litteras. Et illa similiter mittat ei nuncium suum vel litteras. Inter presentes. Si quis dicat alicui. Ego accipio te in meam uxorem. Et illa respondeat. Ego accipio te in meum virum. Et nota quod sponsalia contrahuntur. Per se. Per procuratorem. Per se. Si quis dicat alicui. Ego accipio te in meam uxorem. Et illa respondeat. Ego accipio te in meum virum. Per procuratorem. Si quis mittat procuratorem suum ad aliquam. Et ille procurator dicat ei

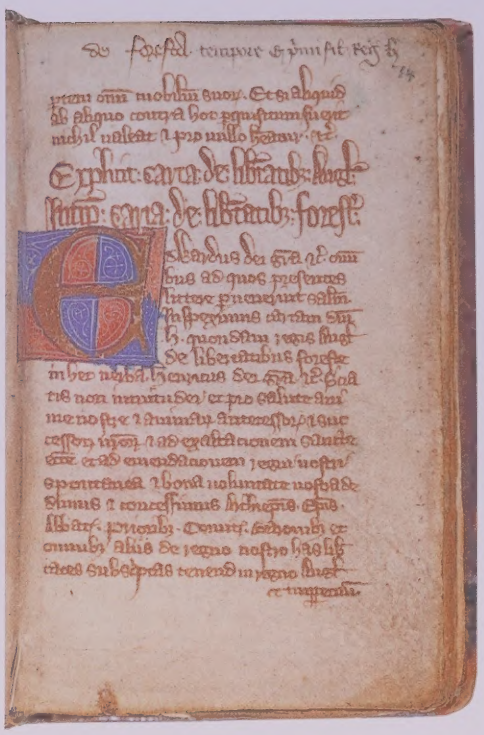
illustrated table of bigamy that shows Christ presiding over a schematic representation of the types of marriage considered bigamous and those considered legitimate. Here the concept of marriage extends far beyond modern ideas: among the bigamous marriages, for example, are the bond between the devil and an unfaithful soul, while among the legitimate are the union between Christ and the Church.

A third illustration relating to marriage strikes a more satirical note. The inhabited initial that opens the fourth book of the *Summa* features a priest presiding over the marriage of a young man and woman, both in postures of chaste modesty. At the bottom of the same page we find a drollery depicting two dogs pursuing a hare, a common visual trope for physical lust. Elsewhere it is royal rather than religious authority that is gently mocked—at the beginning of the third book an ape sits holding a harp, symbolic of the kingly power of David. Nor is this lightheartedness restricted to the manuscript's illustrations; the text of the second book ends with a fine example of an alcoholic *explicit*: 'munus scriptoris ciphum uini melioris' ('the scribe's reward is a cup of superior wine').

On loan from a private collection.

37 *Confirmatio chartarum, charta de foresta, et alia statuta regum Henrici III, Edwardi I, et Edwardi II.* England, c. 1316–c. 1422.

When King John (1166–1216) and a group of rebel barons met at Runnymede in the summer of 1215 to negotiate a peace settlement, little would they have suspected that the result was to be one of the most important documents in legal history. But *Magna Carta*, for that was the document in question, was not an immediate success: within a few weeks both sides had breached its provisions; within a few months the Pope had annulled it; and within a year the French prince Louis the Lion (1187–1226), invited by the barons, had landed an army in England, occupied London, and been declared king in John's place. It was only the latter's death late in 1216 that broke the stalemate. *Magna Carta* was reissued in revised form by John's heir, Henry III (1207–1272), to appease the barons and win them back to his side, and further revised versions appeared in 1217 and 1225. The charter received its final form in 1297, when reissued by Edward I (1239–1307) as part of the *Confirmatio cartarum* (*Confirmation of the Charters*), which brought together Magna Carta and other important charters such as the Charter of the Forest. Over the intervening centuries, *Magna Carta* has come to be regarded as a symbol of the rights and freedoms enshrined in English common law and the various legal systems derived from it. The extent to which it did, in fact, guarantee such rights and freedoms—the right to a trial by jury, for



example—has been, and continues to be, much debated.

Several features of this manuscript of the *Confirmatio cartarum* indicate that it was a working copy, probably in the possession of a member, or series of members, of the class of professional attorneys that had emerged in England over the course of the thirteenth century and that was well established by the time of the manuscript's production early in the following century. The manuscript is small and therefore easily portable, a useful feature given the peripatetic nature of the assizes, which were developing at this time.[82] It also includes a calendar of saints for England, essential for an attorney navigating the complexities of the legal calendar, which was keyed to the feast days of the Church. And finally, in addition to the texts originally included in the manuscript—the *Confirmatio cartarum*, together with a whole series of statutes, the latest of which date from 1316—there are a large number of later corrections and additions, including some as late as the 1420s, suggesting that the manuscript remained in use for over a hundred years. Ultimately, however, as the importance of *Magna Carta* became increasingly symbolic, and the other charters and statutes too were gradually superseded, the manuscript lost its practical value. It is worth remembering, though, that even today a few of the clauses from the *Confirmatio cartarum* remain in force in England and Wales, and that certain clauses in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* ultimately derive from it.

38 Saint Augustine of Hippo (354–430). *De civitate Dei ad Marcellinum contra paganos*. Utrecht? c. 1470.

Arguably the most influential philosophical work penned by the great Bishop of Hippo, Augustine's treatise is written against the backdrop of a declining Roman Empire and the accusations being bandied about at the time that the formal

Incipit prologus sancti Augustini epi in libros de Ciuitate dei. Vel sententia de libro retractationum sui Aug. super libri de ciuitate dei feliciter

Interea ut Roma gothorum irruptione agentium sub rege alarico atq; impetu magne cladis euersa e. eius euersionez deorum falsorum mul/torumq; aliorum quos ut ita dicam pro pagamos vocamus In xpiani religionem referre conantes soluto a/rbitrio et amarius deum uerum blasphemare repiit Vnde ego vrate dilectis zelo domus dei adductus eorum blasphemi/as vel errores libros de ciuitate dei scribere institui. Sed opus per aliquot annos me tenuit eo q alia mihi inter/currebant que differri non oporteret et me prius ad soluen/dum occupabant. Hoc autem de ciuitate dei grande opus fi/dem virginum duobus libris est terminatum. quorum quisq; pri/mus eos refellit qui res humanas ita prosperari volunt ut ad hoc multorum deorum cultu quos pagani colere consueuerunt. Vtilitatem esse arbitrentur. et quia prohibere mala non ualent ex/orta atq; habundare contendunt. Scriptores autem quibus adiutus eos loquuntur. qui fatentur hec mala nec defuisse unq; nec defutura mortalibus. et ea nunc multum nunc pau/ca locis temporibus personisq; uariari. Sed deorum multorum cultu quomodo eis sacrificent. propter uitam post mortem futuram esse utilem demonstrent. Hinc ergo decem libris duo/bus opiniones xpiane religioni aduersae refellimus. Sed ne quisquam nos aliena tantum redarguisse non autem nra asseruisse reprehendat. Idcirco pars altera operis hu/ius que duodecim libris continet. Quinquies ubi opus est. et in priorib; decem que nra sint asseruimus. et in duodecim posterioribus redarguimus aduersa. Duodecim ii. librorum

Diuisio tomi operis

Cum ego beatum hieronimum hystoriis hoc dissentire sciam. credi autem. qd ipe ordinate opa verbis rerum mala que passa erant non potuit. dum vi dei assisteret. Ideo credit qd homi sint si quibi auctu/ra debeat. vnus vel duo attribui. Et ita primi pe/tres primos libros. 2os duos sequentes hymnos ve/teris libris sic precedet. Nam in primo ii. ordinat. passio/nes p sanctos no deberi/ascribi religioni xpiane sic infidelis patuerunt. In 2o vo libro probat qd dñs ih̄s nullis de malis cul/pe. vel pene subiacuit. In 3o libro probat qd non omnia de malis pene vel culpe deplorant

adoption of Christianity had contributed significantly to that decline. In *De civitate Dei* (*City of God*), Augustine challenges the ancient idea propounded by the likes of Thucydides (c. 460 BCE–c. 400 BCE) and Plutarch (c. 46–after 119) that history is cyclical. Augustine, whose focus was always on moral behaviour, argues herein that history is in fact linear. The city of man and the city of God, he argues, move forward together in time, with the former tied to its own self-interest and the latter oriented towards salvation and happiness. Although it is not, in and of itself, a formal philosophy of history, Augustine's text exerted a profound influence over the development of historiography in the West up until the Enlightenment and remains influential in many contemporary philosophical schools. The Fisher manuscript contains only the first thirteen (of twenty-two) books, written in a *semihybrida libraria* script typically found in the Low Countries in the mid-fifteenth century. A relatively plain text manuscript, each book is nevertheless introduced by large and beautiful decorated initials, executed in red, blue, and black. The margins of the text include the truncated glosses of the notable Augustinian commentators Nicholas Trivet (c. 1258–1328) and Thomas Waleys (c. 1287–c. 1350) in a contemporary hand,[83] likely that of one of the scribes, although the marginalia cease abruptly at the beginning of the ninth book. The text is copied on to laid paper, rather than vellum, and while not all of the watermarks can be identified, the anchor mark that appears throughout most of the book points to the paper having been made in Utrecht in the late 1460s or early 1470s.[84]

The preliminary matter of the book contains several important early marks of provenance. At the top of the front flyleaf, in an early seventeenth-century hand, is the partially eradicated inscription 'Hieronymi Trompes canli. Tor.', while the bottom of the same page records that the book was eventually gifted by him to an unidentified institution. There is a Jerome des Trompes recorded as serving as counsellor to Albert (1559–1621) and Isabella (1566–1633), Archduke and Archduchess of the Spanish Netherlands at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but it cannot be certain that he was the owner of this particular manuscript.[85] The nineteenth-century book label 'au Cte. Chandon de Briailles' appears on the front pastedown. Raoul Chandon de Briailles (1850–1908) was president of the champagne house Moët & Chandon, and a renowned bibliophile. Part of his library was bequeathed to the Médiathèques at Épernay.[86] In more recent years, the volume formed part of the library of the renowned historian of science Stillman Drake (1910–1993).

CASES VII–VIII:

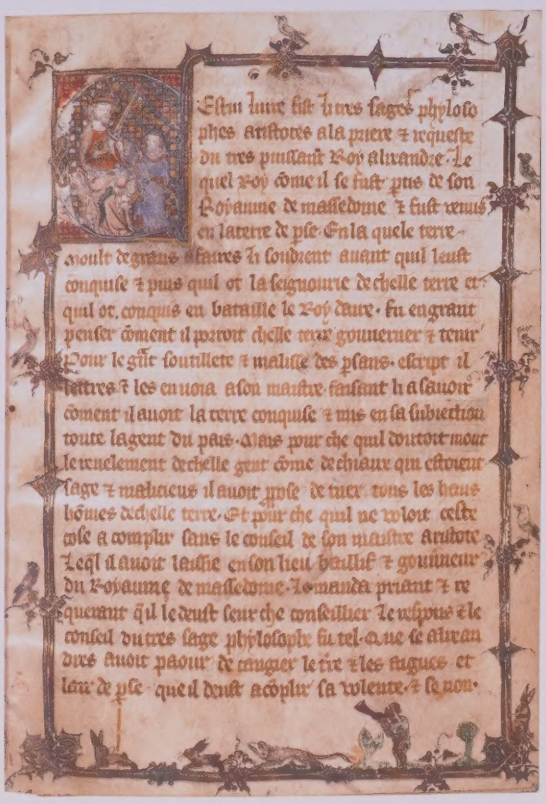
RENAISSANCE AND VERNACULAR MANUSCRIPTS

In most of Western Europe during the Middle Ages, the primary language of education, literature, and the Church was Latin. It was in northern regions, and especially the British Isles, that the earliest vernacular literatures developed, with Irish, Welsh, and Anglo-Saxon literature all flourishing in the early medieval period. In those parts of Europe where the Romance languages developed, vernacular literatures were slower to emerge, but by the eleventh and twelfth centuries lyrical poetry in Occitan was flourishing in the hands of the troubadours and the earliest *chansons de geste* were appearing in French and Spanish. The career of the Italian poet Dante Alighieri (c. 1265–1321), who was greatly influenced by the troubadours, marks a turning point in the development of vernacular literature and its acceptance as a serious alternative to Latin literature. Not only did Dante write such vernacular masterpieces as the *Vita nuova* (*New Life*) and the *Commedia* (*Comedy*), he also presented in the *De vulgari eloquentia* (*On Vernacular Eloquence*) an analysis of the relationship between Latin and the vernacular languages of Europe and argued for the aptness of the latter with regard to certain literary genres. Dante's lead was quickly followed by Petrarch (1304–1374) and Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375) in Italy, as well writers further afield working in a variety of languages.

Alongside this growing interest in and respect for vernacular literature, however, there was also developing in Italy a desire to recover the lost literature of antiquity. Petrarch himself, during his frequent travels, sought out copies of ancient texts—in Liège, for example, he unearthed two of Cicero's speeches—and this work was carried on in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406), Niccolò de' Niccoli (1364–1437), and Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), among many others. Through the study of these rediscovered texts, the Renaissance humanists sought to purify Latin by rejecting medieval models in favour of Classical ones, though there was in fact much greater continuity with the medieval past than they cared to admit. And at the same time, as the Renaissance spread across Europe the works of antiquity were themselves translated into many different languages, thereby furthering the development of vernacular literature.

39 Pseudo-Aristotle. *Secret des secrez.* Northern France, 1300–1320.

If we are to believe all that is said about it, the text found in this manuscript is a French translation of a Latin translation of an Arabic translation of a Syriac translation of a Greek work authored by the philosopher Aristotle (384 BCE–322 BCE). Its actual origins, however, are rather less straightforward. The translation here preserved, one of twelve known medieval translations or adaptations in French, does indeed come from an Arabic text via a Latin intermediary, but beyond that the concatenation of translations becomes highly suspect, if not entirely imaginary. It is likely that the work was originally composed in Arabic in the tenth century—it certainly existed by the end of that century, when it is mentioned by Ibn Juljul (c. 944–c. 994). The Arabic version asserts that it is a translation by Yahya ibn al-Bitriq (fl. 796–806), via a (probably Syriac) intermediary, of a Greek manuscript found in a temple of Aesculapius. This is likely to be a fiction designed to lend authority to the work; Greek literature was highly esteemed in the Arabic world at least from the time of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mansur (714–775), and Yahya ibn al-Bitriq was an important pioneer in its translation. Whatever its precise origins, it is certain that the *Secret des secrez* (*Secret of Secrets*) was widely read in medieval Europe. First introduced in Latin translation in the twelfth century, it was subsequently translated into a wide variety of vernaculars. The French version of which this manuscript is a witness, indeed the oldest witness, survives in just four copies and was once thought to have been produced for the French King Charles V (1338–1380). The early date of the manuscript makes this impossible, however, and all that can be said of its origins is that certain features of the decoration and dialect suggest early fourteenth-century northern France.[87]



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The *Secret des secrez* is an example of a *speculum principum*, or mirror of princes, a genre that aims to provide advice to rulers on how to rule well. While the genre has its origins in antiquity—the account of the education of Cyrus the Great (c. 600 BCE–530 BCE) in the *Cyropedia* of Xenophon (431 BCE–354 BCE) proved especially influential—it had its heyday in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Though the *Secret des secrez* situates itself in a particular historical moment—it purports to be a letter from Aristotle to Alexander the Great (356 BCE–323 BCE)—the advice it contains is intended to be broadly applicable. The precise nature of the contents varies from translation to translation, and even from manuscript to manuscript, each version emphasizing different aspects of the text. The focus in this manuscript is very much on the ruler's physical condition; some of the allegorical tales transmitted in other versions are omitted, but the sections dealing with bodily disorders and with the diet most likely to promote bodily health are retained.

The manuscript's size suggests that it was meant for personal use rather than ostentation, but the high quality of both the parchment and the illumination on the opening leaf would have made this an expensive item nonetheless. Like many copies of the *Secret des secrez*, this one opens with a historiated initial showing Aristotle's messenger presenting the philosopher's work to Alexander. While the artist responsible for this initial remains anonymous, it is similar in style to the work of the great illuminator Jean Pucelle (c. 1300–1355), active in Paris in the first half of the fourteenth century.

40 *Composite Manuscript.* Germany, mid-14th century.

This composite manuscript brings together a variety of texts and illustrations, all broadly theological in nature. It opens with texts by two of the leading scholars of the Carolingian period, Haymo of Halberstadt (d. 853) and Rabanus Maurus (c. 780–856). Exact contemporaries, both entered the Benedictine abbey at Fulda and both studied under Alcuin of York (c. 735–804), the great architect of the Carolingian education system. Most of Haymo's literary output (which later ages frequently confused with the writings of Haimo of Auxerre (d. 865), a contemporary) takes the form of commentaries, and it is his commentary on the twelve lesser prophets that is preserved here. Rabanus' output was more varied, consisting of commentaries, treatises, homilies, poems, and hymns; the second section of the manuscript comprises a series of Rabanus' canticles and hymns drawn from various Biblical texts. There follows a chronology of the world based firmly on the Bible, beginning with Adam and ending with Christ's passion. Accompanying the chronology are a

number of diagrams setting out various Biblical lineages. The final text included in the manuscript is the Anticlaudianus, by the twelfth-century French theologian and poet Alain de Lille (c. 1128–1202/1203). This allegorical poem recounts a journey undertaken by Nature, who, capable of creating a physical body but not a soul with which to animate it, travels to heaven to ask for one.

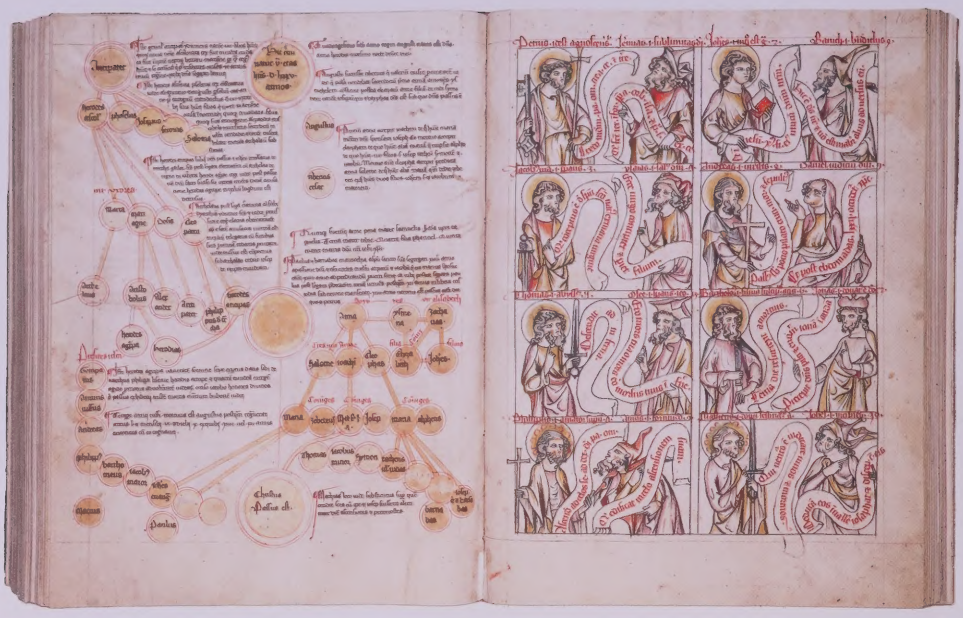
These four sections of the manuscript all include decorative elements of one kind or another, from elaborate decorated initials to the detailed diagrams accompanying the Biblical chronology. The most visually striking section of the manuscript, however, comes between this chronology and the *Anticlaudianus*, and is itself comprised of four separate series of illustrations: first, a series of fourteen compartments pairing figures from the Old and New Testaments, a mode of exegesis common in the Middle Ages and termed typology; second, a series of forty-eight compartments illustrating the *Anticlaudianus* and including a portrait of the author at work at his writing desk; third, sixteen vibrantly coloured images, each accompanied by a short verse in German, depicting the events of the fifteen days leading up to the day of final judgement, a popular theme in medieval art and literature deriving ultimately from the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Thomas*; and finally, a series of ten compartments illustrating the martyrdoms of various female saints.

Beyond their broadly Christian content, there initially seems to be little that relates these various texts and illustrations to each other. Closer examination, however, reveals certain features that suggest that the manuscript was designed as a unified whole. Most obvious is the reappearance throughout the manuscript of Hermann, Abbot of Kastl, Bavaria, from 1322 to 1356. The manuscript opens with a magnificent illuminated initial showing Abbot Hermann, identified by name in a caption, flanked by Saint Dorothea of Caesarea (d. c. 311) and an unidentified male saint, and the Abbot features in two other initials in the first section. He makes two further appearance much later on: first in the sequence of images illustrating the

VIII
Fuit polus cepit uobis duus phanelens
Lano fronelis
No ys
Mis erure erdrat tuhas regione
fronelis.
No ys
Ille qđ inpum qđ unum & qđ obum
amyos
Iarbes
gloto
XII
Rex dixit glanes uiuis ad tumulū
Lano fronelis
noys
Deus ruturam rancur fuerim comitatus
Qui uelutus socias ul' comitatur
noys
fices
fronelis
XI
Hoc cepisse fronesi pequm̃ ppetare
Lano fronelis
noys
Dni murauit he rigis et uelutatur
fices
fronesi
mata
Ioy
Hanc fili fronesi spedo spelatur
noys
fices
fronelis
X
Ad patra cedes hic star capedes
bā
iugo
fronelis
Deo cuiꝰ dat sanat terꝰ patur
noys
fices
fronelis
Mū priam celicꝰ pagire sopham
noys
Alanus
Hos turpes h̃ trāsit et cumbitores
pueres celi
fronelis
Meus & hoc re socia simur ipa colore
Ioys
fronelis
IX
V

An dem fünfzehendem tag daz ist war
Ver prinnent dew elementen gar
Daz fewer verbert allez vndisch dink
Dann kümet der himelische kunig
Got röfet dann den frevnden sein
Di sunder weist er ndi pein

ysaias ꝓpha.
Jemias ꝓpha
Vnum ū iudicium.
Uenite benedicti patris mei ꝓpi
te regnū. qđ uob ꝑatū ē ab origie m
Maria.
Maria.
Joses.
Abiahs
Infernus.



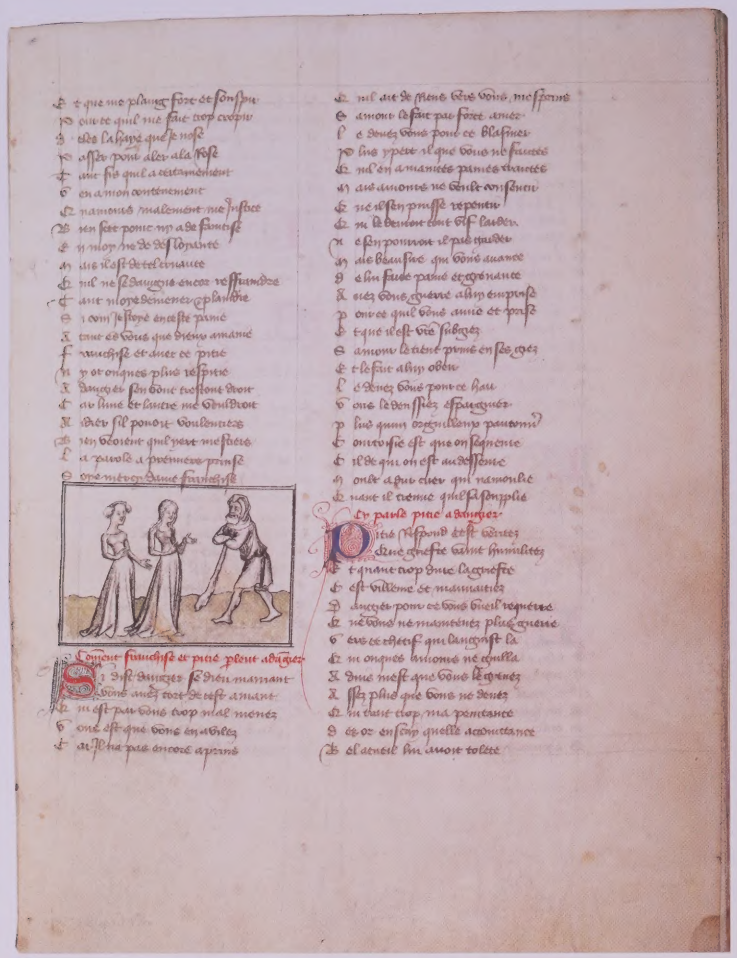
Anticlaudianus—the last image in the sequence shows Abbot Hermann kneeling before Saint Peter (to whom Kastl Abbey was dedicated) and offering him a book; and second in the sequence of images illustrating the approach of the apocalypse—at the end of the sequence, immediately before the day of judgement, we again find Abbot Hermann kneeling before Saint Peter, who now has a book tucked under his arm. Abbot Hermann's prominence is such that it is likely that the manuscript was made in his honour. He is not, however, the manuscript's only unifying feature. A more subtle indication comes in the place given to Saint Dorothea. We have already seen that she is present at the very beginning of the manuscript, and she also features as the last in the sequence of illustrations of martyrdoms. As the manuscript is currently bound, this sequence is followed by the text of the *Anticlaudianus*, but rust stains on the (blank) verso of the leaf showing Dorothea's death, stains left by the metal bosses of a former binding, make it clear that at some point in its life this was the manuscript's final leaf. Originally, then, the manuscript both began and ended with an illustration of Saint Dorothea. Quite why the patroness of gardeners, brewers, newlyweds, and (one thing leading to another) midwives should be afforded such prominence is unclear, though if the manuscript as a whole was indeed meant to honour Hermann of Kastl, we may assume some particular association between the Abbot and the Saint.

On loan from a private collection.

41 Guillaume de Lorris (c. 1200–c. 1240) and Jean de Meun (c. 1240–c. 1305). *Roman de la rose*. Paris? c. 1375.

That the *Roman de la rose* (*Romance of the Rose*) was one of the most popular works of medieval French literature can be gauged by its survival in some 320 manuscripts, or parts thereof, and its publication in no fewer than seven incunable editions. A long, allegorical poem that adopts the literary conceit of a dream vision, the *Roman de la rose* is in fact the work of two authors. The first section, comprising just over four thousand lines, was written by Guillaume de Lorris in around 1235 and recounts a dream in which the poem's narrator, having been shot by Cupid with the usual results, encounters the object of his affection in a walled garden—she is allegorized as the rose of the poem's title—and attempts to win her, though without success. The second, much longer section—at nearly eighteen thousand lines it dwarfs the first—was added by Jean de Meun in around 1275 and follows the narrator's ongoing attempts to win his rose, now defended in a castle. The length of Jean de Meun's continuation is largely the result of a series of prolix digressions put into the mouths of various allegorical characters with whom the narrator has dealings, including Reason, Nature, and Genius. Highly satirical, even acerbic, in tone, the continuation frequently strays from the central theme of love to tackle subjects ranging from free will to optical theory, and also makes room for bitter attacks on the growing power of the mendicant religious orders. In the end, the narrator resorts to violence and deception in order to win his rose, a development entirely at odds with his original characterization by Guillaume de Lorris.

In addition to proving extremely popular, the *Roman de la rose* also generated a good deal of controversy and ultimately provoked one of the most famous literary debates of the Middle Ages. Already in 1399 the French writer Christine de Pizan (1364–c. 1430) had written a work, the *Epistre au dieu d'amours* (*Letter to the God of Love*), attacking Jean de Meun's contribution to the *Roman de la rose* for its derogatory and inconsistent depiction of female behaviour. In 1400, though apparently as a result of a personal encounter rather than in direct response to Christine's work, the royal secretary Jean de Montreuil (1354–1418) produced a (now lost) treatise on the *Roman de la rose* in which he defended the work. This led to an exchange of letters pitting Christine, who was supported by the influential Chancellor of the University of Paris, Jean Gerson (1363–1429), against Jean de Montreuil and two other royal secretaries, Pierre (fl. 1401/1402) and Gontier Col (c. 1350–1418). Christine collected this correspondence and in 1402 presented it to the French queen, Isabeau of Bavaria (c. 1370–1435). In the



previous year she also composed the *Dit de la rose* (*Poem of the Rose*), a further response to Jean de Meun's, and Jean de Montreuil's, views.

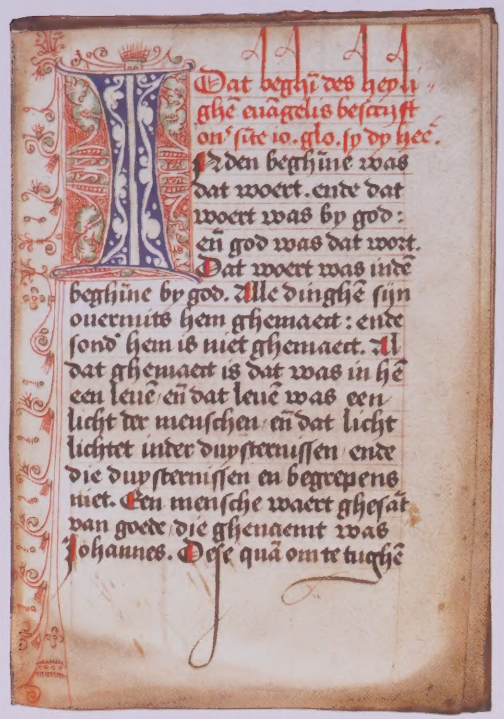
This copy of the *Roman de la rose* bears witness to the vicissitudes often encountered by books over the centuries. It started life as a large-format manuscript of 135 leaves containing a complete text of the poem written by several scribes in a handsome *bâtarde* script and adorned with twenty or so miniatures in *demi-grisaille*, a technique of illustration that restricts itself to shades of grey and similarly neutral colours. By the sixteenth century at the latest the manuscript had lost its first gathering, consisting of eight leaves—that the loss had been sustained by this time is clear from the presence of foliation in a sixteenth-century hand beginning with the 'i' on what is now the first leaf of the manuscript. In consequence of this loss, the manuscript lacks not only the first 953 lines of the poem, but also a dozen or more of the

miniatures it originally contained.[88] In addition to having foliation added, the manuscript was also rebound in the sixteenth century, with some of the blind-stamped leather from this binding surviving to be incorporated into the current binding. The fact, however, that the sixteenth-century foliation has 'i', 'ii', and 'iii' on the first three leaves of the manuscript, but the number 'iv' on what is now (correctly) the tenth leaf, shows that at some point these leaves had fallen out of order, the rebinding itself being the most likely occasion. This confusion was undone in the nineteenth century, when the manuscript was put into its current binding, but at the cost of confusion added elsewhere: a bifolium in the seventh gathering was inverted, again resulting in a disordering of the text. Moreover, the manuscript had by this point lost two of its six remaining miniatures, the perpetrator cutting the parchment so enthusiastically in the process of removing them that the incisions also affect the following leaves. This damage was repaired with blank vellum patches in the nineteenth century, quite possibly at the time of rebinding. Despite these various ups and downs the manuscript survives today as an unusually fine copy, an important witness not just to vicissitude, but also to one of the most popular and influential texts of the Middle Ages.

42 *Horae: Dutch Book of Hours.* Limburg? 15th century.

To understand the Reformation it is first necessary to comprehend the evolution of the spirituality that came to be known as the *devotio moderna* (literally, 'modern devotion'), the great reforming movement that emerged in the Netherlands in the Late Middle Ages. The *devotio* traces its origins to the ministry of a Dutch deacon, Geert Groote (1340–1384), who in 1374 founded the Meester-Geertshuis in Deventer as a religious house for 'poor and pious women'. The movement was dedicated to a shared common life of spiritual reform and in time would influence three separate but related groups: the Sisters of the Common Life, the Brethren of the Common Life, and the Augustinian Canons Regular, of which the great humanist and proto-reformer Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536) was a member. The intention of the *devotio* was the spiritual renewal of Christianity on the eve of the Reformation.[89]

One of the ways in which this renewal occurred was through the creation, dissemination, and use of vernacular prayer books, such as this Dutch example. Books of hours were devotional manuals that imitated the eight canonical hours as they were celebrated daily by the secular clergy and members of monastic communities throughout Christendom. They allowed the laity to participate in this Divine Office from their own homes, and began to appear as early as the thirteenth


In den beghinne was dat woert. ende dat woert was by god: en god was dat woert. Dat woert was inden beghinne by god. Alle dinghe sijn ouermits hem ghemaect: ende sonder hem is niet ghemaect. Al dat ghemaect is dat was in hem een leuen en dat leuen was een licht der menschen en dat licht lichtet inder duysternissen ende die duysternissen en begrepens niet. Een mensche waert ghesant van gode die ghenaemt was Johannes. Dese quam om te tuighe

century. Groote's great contribution to this liturgical genre, as recorded by his biographer Thomas à Kempis (c. 1380–1471), was to translate 'the Hours of the Blessed Virgin together with certain other Hours from Latin into the Germanic language so that simple and unlearned lay people might have them in their mother tongue for their use in praying on holy days, so that when the faithful read these or heard them read by other devout persons they might the more easily keep themselves from many vanities and idle conversations and progress in the love and praise of God aided by their sacred readings'.[90]

Although Groote was promoting the use of the vernacular in prayer and meditation at the same time as John Wycliffe (1320–1384) in England, Groote's disciples never experienced the level of resistance met by Wycliffe's followers, the Lollards. Dutch books of hours proved to be remarkably popular compared with their vernacular counterparts in neighbouring jurisdictions. In fact, it is estimated that some ninety per cent of surviving books of hours from the Northern Netherlands were actually written in Dutch, suggesting that the prayer of the Church was becoming increasingly accessible to those who had limited knowledge of Latin almost fifty years before the Reformation began in earnest in Germany.[91]

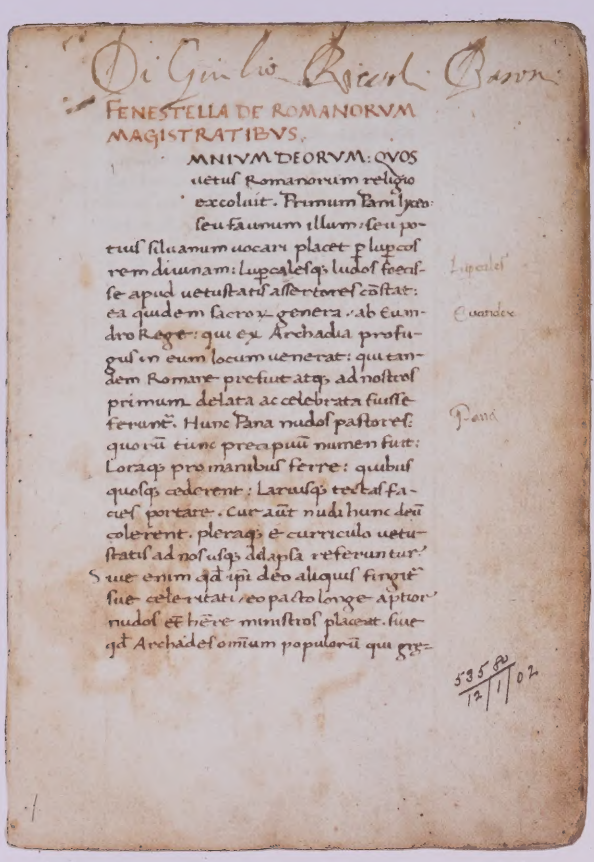
The Fisher manuscript follows the calendar of the Utrecht diocese and probably comes from the province of Limburg in East Flanders. Written in black and red ink in a *hybrida* script, it begins with the first chapter of the Gospel of St John, after which follow the seven penitential Psalms, a litany of the saints, some collects, the so-called fifteen Os of St Bridget of Sweden (1303–1373), the seven sayings of Christ on the cross, prayers to Jesus, prayers to the Virgin Mary, prayers to St Anne, morning prayers, and a benediction. The inclusion St Bridget's Os is significant since they are a series of spiritual ejaculations based on thirty years of the nun's visions, in which she is critical of a Church badly in need of reform.[92]

43 Andrea Fiocchi (c. 1400–c. 1452). *De Romanorum magistratibus*. Italy, after 1450.

Fenestella (c. 52 BCE–c. 19 CE) was a prominent historian who lived under the early Roman Empire and whose writings on a wide range of antiquarian topics influenced such important figures as Pliny the Elder (23/24–79) and Asconius Pedianus (c. 9 BCE–c. 76 CE). He was not, however, the author of the work preserved in this manuscript, *De Romanorum magistratibus* (*On the Magistracies of the Romans*). That, rather, was Andrea Fiocchi, who attributed it to Fenestella perhaps in order to increase its authority, perhaps as a literary conceit.

From his earliest years, Fiocchi moved in powerful circles. He received his education in Florence under the protection of Alemanno Adimari (1362–1422), Archbishop of Pisa, and as a young man was tutor to Francesco de' Medici, a member of the influential banking family that would come to rule the city of Florence. It was his employment in around 1430 by Gabriele Condulmer (c. 1383–1447), however, that secured Fiocchi's future, for in 1432 Condulmer became Pope Eugene IV. This lead to a series of appointments for Fiocchi: apostolic secretary, apostolic notary, papal scribe and abbreviator, canon of San Lorenzo in Florence. While his attachment to Eugene enabled Fiocchi's rise, however, it also meant he had to share in any papal misfortune, and when political unrest forced Eugene out of Rome in 1434, Fiocchi followed him into exile. But Fiocchi was no idle exile and played an active part in both the humanist and religious controversies of the time: in 1435 he participated in a famous debate between Leonardo Bruni (c. 1370–1444), humanist Chancellor of the Florentine Republic, and Eugene's apostolic secretaries on the nature of the Latin language and the development of modern European vernaculars; and in 1438 he attended the Council of Ferrara, established by Eugene to counter the Council of Basel, which was hostile to the idea of papal supremacy. Eugene was finally able to return to Rome in 1443, and Fiocchi returned with him. Upon the Pope's death in 1447, Fiocchi entered the service of Eugene's successor, Pope Nicholas V (1397–1455), in which he remained until his own death in around 1452.

The humanist historian Flavio Biondo (1392–1463), another participant in the debate of 1435, mentions Fiocchi as the author of works on the history of law, and it was probably in the context of this interest—in addition to the more general interest of the Renaissance humanists in the Classical past—that he wrote *De Romanorum magistratibus*, since many Roman magistrates fulfilled a legal as well as a political function. The work also covers the major Roman priesthoods, such as the pontifex maximus, whose title would ultimately devolve upon the Pope, and


FENESTELLA DE ROMANORVM
MAGISTRATIBVS.
MNIVM DEORVM: QVOS
uetus Romanorum religio
excoluit. Primum Pan Iyceus
seu Faunum illum: seu po-
tius siluanum uocari placet: p lupos
rem diuinam: Lupercalesq; ludos fecis-
se apud ueteres asserunt scriptores: ea
ex quadem sacrorum genera: ab Eu-
andro Rege: qui ex Archadia profu-
gus in eum locum uenerat: qui tan-
dem Romae praefuit atq; ad nostros
primum delata ac celebrata fuisse
ferunt. Hunc Pana nudos pastores:
quorum tunc precipuum numen fuit:
Loraq; pro manibus ferre: quibus
quosq; cederent; Larusq; rectas fa-
ces portare. Cur autem nudi hunc deum
colerent. pleraq; e curriculo uetu-
statis ad nos usq; ddapsa referuntur.
Siue enim ad ipi deo aliquis fingit
siue celebrati eo pastoloe aptior
nudos et here ministros placeat. siue
quod Archades omnium populorum qui
Lupercal
Euander
Pana
535 80
12/1/02

the Vestal Virgins. At least seven printed editions appeared in the fifteenth century, and several more in the sixteenth and seventeenth. Suspicions as to the work's true author emerged by the end of the fifteenth century, though it was not until 1561 that an edition appeared under Fiocchi's name.

The Fisher manuscript, which was a bequest to the University of Toronto from Henry Scadding (1813–1901), is written on paper in a clear, humanist hand, with two leaves added in a second, less skilled hand, to replace leaves that had been lost. The binding of blind-stamped leather over oak boards is contemporary with the manuscript's production.

44 Thomas à Kempis (c. 1380–1471). *Dell'immitatione di Cristo*. Venice? 1460–1480.

The *Imitation of Christ* was second only to the Bible in popularity among the adherents of the *devotio moderna*—a movement discussed more fully in the entry on the Fisher's Dutch book of hours (no. 42 in this catalogue)—and would become a core text for both Catholics and Protestants even after the Reformation. Its authorship has been a source of contention for centuries, and has been variously ascribed to St Augustine of Hippo (354–430), St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), St Bonaventure (1221–1274), and Jean Gerson (1363–1429), among others.[93] Like many works emanating from the spirituality of the *devotio moderna* it is anonymous, in keeping with the belief that attaching one's name to a work offered for God's glory was an act of pride. There was also a firm belief that, since the literature of the move-

Incomẽça lo libro de la imitatiõne de xpo posto p lo deuoto hõ miser la uerº Iustiãno. pũr dni bene trano. epma del prompto de tutte le uanitade. Capº primo.

Como se douemo tenir hũili in nuy medesimi. Capitulo. ii.

Dela doctina d'la uitaº. capº 3 de la pdenna de se debe hauir nele Como douemo. Cº. 4 cose ei chiẽ la uitaº nele scripture. Cº 5

Dele affectione d'sordinate. cº. 6

Como douemo fuzire la uana speraça ela elline. Capº. vij.

Como douemo fuzire la troppo familiarite. Capitulo. 8º.

Dela obia et hũile. Cº. 9 subiectione. Capitulo. 10

Como douemo schiuar la superfluita de le pole. Cº. xi.

Dela pnetente e del zelo de pfiare in xpo. Capitulo. 12

Dela utilitaº. de le aduersitade: Capitulo. 13.

Como douemo resistere ale tetatione del demonio Capº. 14.

De no iudicare le alle. Cº. 15

Dele ope Cº. 16

De supime li alli defecti Cº. 17

Dela uera mortificatione Cº. 18

Deli exẽpli deli scti pri. Cº. 19.

Deli exercitii d'l bono religioso. c. 20

Dela amoe dela solitudine e del silentio: Capitulo. 21.

Dela cõpunctiõ d'l core. Cº. 22.

Dela miseria humana. Cº. 23

Dela meditatiõne dela morte Cº. 24

Dela iudicio e dele pene de li

Dela feruẽte Cº. 25. pẽi emẽdatiõe de tutta la uita nostra.

Incipit liber de imitatione xpi et contemptu oiũ uanitatũ mũdi. c. pmo.

Qui la seguita mi no ambula nele tenebre dice lo signoe. Que ste sono pole de xpo p le qle ne amo isse ãzo che seguitão la sua uita ela sor costumi se uolia mo esser illumãti et liberati da ogi cecitaº de core. Adonchi lo nostro sumo studio sia meditare in la uita dottina pcede tutte le doctine di scti e che hauesse lo spo franza qª la mẽte nostra. Ma auuiene chi multi p lo gnuno studio delo eterno scientia pcolo desideio po chi no hano lo spo de x. Ma bisogna chi quelli chi uole pfectamẽte e sapietemẽte i tendẽ le pole di xpo le studij de sformaẽ tutta la uita sua.

ment had flowed from the members' shared experiences and would return to their use, it was in reality common property and should not be assigned to any one person.[94] Nevertheless, it is now generally agreed that the meditations are the work of Thomas à Kempis, who was educated by the Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer, and subsequently became a member of the Augustinian Canons. The earliest dated copy of the *Imitation* is from 1427, when Thomas would have been about forty-seven years old. The text survives in some eight or nine hundred manuscripts as well as in a hundred early printed editions.[95]

While its popularity among Catholics is understandable, the acclaim it enjoyed among Protestants may at first blush seem remarkable. Owing to the rootedness of the *devotio moderna* in the Scriptures, the Reformers saw in the *Imitation* a spiritual tool that married sound doctrine with personal renewal built upon a solid Biblical foundation. As a result, Caspar Schwenckfeld (1490–1561), the Silesian Reformer, produced the first Protestant translation in 1531,[96] while modified English editions, undertaken by the Puritan Edward Hake (fl.1564–1604) and the Anglican priest Thomas Rogers (c. 1553–1616), demonstrate the broad popularity of the book well into the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603). As late as the eighteenth century, John Wesley (1703–1791), the founder of Methodism, credited the *Imitation* with helping him develop his own brand of spirituality. In 1725, after his mother Susanna (1669–1742) and he had read the book, he wrote that 'the nature and extent of inward religion, the religion of the heart, now appeared to me in a stronger light than it ever had done before'.[97] The enduring strength and appeal of the *Imitation* appears to be its ability to build bridges, both across the centuries, as well as across the splintered character of Christianity itself.[98]

The Fisher manuscript is a rare early Italian translation of this devotional classic. While it may be inappropriate to apply the term *devotio moderna* to the humanist movement that was taking hold in some parts of Italy in the later Middle Ages, there was certainly common cause between those wishing to purify Christendom in both northern and southern Europe at that time. A parallel spirit of reform emerged in the Italian peninsula in the fifteenth century, associated with such people as Antonio, Cardinal Correr (1369–1445) and Pope Eugene IV (c. 1383–1447). The preface to this translation of the *Imitation* attributes it to one of their sympathizers, Lorenzo Giustiniani (1381–1456), the Patriarch of Venice, who worked determinedly for the renewal of the Church in his own diocese. The first printed Italian translation of the *Imitation* was produced at Venice in 1488, and twelve Italian editions would follow before 1530. None of these editions, however, credits the translation to Giustiniani, and none includes the text found in this manuscript.

45 Christine de Pizan (1364–c. 1430). *Le livre de paix*. Northern France, c. 1470.

Christine de Pizan was one of the most significant writers and thinkers of the Late Middle Ages, and France's first professional woman of letters. Although born in Italy, she spent most of her life in Paris, her father having moved the family from Venice when he took up the position of royal astrologer in the court of Charles V (1338–1380). Following the early death of her husband, Christine turned to writing to support herself, her mother, and her three children. Initially making a name for herself—and, just as importantly, attracting patrons—as a writer of ballads, Christine went on to produce works in a variety of genres in both poetry and prose, the best-known of which are her allegorical works in defence of women, such as the *Livre de la cité des dames* (*Book of the City of Ladies*) and the *Livre des trois vertus* (*Book of the Three Virtues*). With the development of academic feminist criticism over the second half of the twentieth century, Christine's views on the role of women in society have attracted a good deal of scholarly attention, with one critic describing her as 'the mother of humanist feminism'.[99]

Towards the end of her career, Christine turned her attention to the fractious political situation in France, producing a series of works of political philosophy. The *Livre de paix* (*Book of Peace*), the last in this series, was also her last major work. Written in two stages in 1412 and 1413 during brief lulls in the civil strife between the Armagnac and Burgundian factions of the French royal house, the *Livre de paix* offers political guidance to Louis de Guyenne (1397–1415), heir apparent to the French crown. Though less explicitly concerned with women than some of her earlier works, the *Livre de paix* nevertheless takes a markedly feminist approach: 'by emphasizing the foundation of good government in prudence, and by demonstrating women's exercise of prudence in many spheres of life, Christine developed what might be called an image of an androgynous ideal of monarchy capable of being exemplified as much by a woman as a man'.[100]

Manuscripts of the *Livre de paix* are extremely rare, with just three copies known to survive, one of which Christine herself produced as a presentation copy for John the Fearless (1371–1419), Duke of Burgundy.[101] The Fisher's manuscript, which was made some sixty years later, was commissioned by Jean V de Créquy (c. 1395–1474), a counselor to Philip the Good (1396–1467), Duke of Burgundy. The Créquy coat of arms, a wild cherry tree in red on a gold field, appears in an illuminated initial at the beginning of the text. The most visually striking feature of the manuscript, however, is a superb half-page miniature by the Flemish artist Jean Hennecart (fl. 1454–1475) that depicts Christine presenting her book to Louis de Guyenne. The Fisher copy also features a fine, if rather

Hat tuy in diuersitate tua &c.

Ome bon neur Re uerence auec tou te obeissa ce sou pze mise a top treserellent et treshaubte prince. Loys. ainsne filz du Roy attendat la couronne par la grace de dieu. duc de guienne. Et daulphin de viennois. Tres haulte et tresnoble prince ta grant magnificence me aut en despris lesarpenture de ta seruante et humble aduenture de bon vouloir meue en pure affection du bien de ta diuine psonne. dme vueilliez lu maine clemence & ton no ble courage le receuoir en

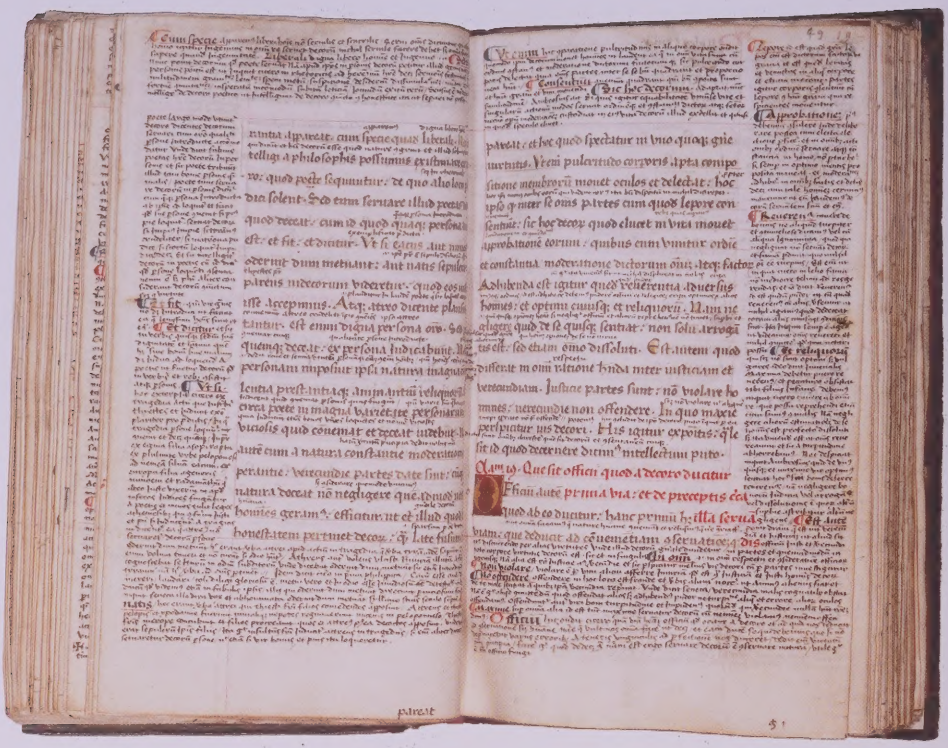
curious, tree-calf binding. This binding was added when the manuscript was proposed for the library of Louis XVIII of France (1755–1824) and incorporates Louis's cypher; the sale fell through, however—quite why is not known—and the manuscript never entered the French royal collection. Its most recent private owner was Pierre Bergé (1930–2017), partner of Yves Saint Laurent (1936–2008).

46 Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 BCE–43 BCE). *De officiis*. Paris? not before 1471, probably 1481–1491.

Renaissance humanism was divided between those for whom Cicero was the only proper model for Latin prose style and those who, while admitting Cicero's importance, were prepared to submit to the influence of other authors too. (This struggle between the devotees of Cicero and their opponents was carried on in the ancient world by more physical means, if a graffito found in the villa of L. Albucius Celsus at Pompeii is anything to go by: 'si tibi Cicero dolet vapulabis' ('if you don't like Cicero you will be flogged').) The centrality of Cicero to humanist intellectual history is, in other words, undeniable. Indeed, one might even say that Cicero, ably abetted by Petrarch (1304–1374), played a crucial role in setting Renaissance humanism in motion, for Petrarch's rediscovery of Cicero's letters to Atticus (c. 110 BCE–32 BCE), and the desire it instilled in him to seek out similar ancient treasures, has come to be seen as a defining moment in the early development of the humanist spirit.

It is hard to underestimate the importance and influence of Cicero's *De officiis* (*On Duties*), the work preserved in this manuscript. Written in 44 BCE, at a time when Cicero was an active participant in Roman politics, the *De officiis* is a three-part dialogue on moral duties addressed to the author's son. The first part covers what is honourable, the second part what is advantageous, and the third part considers the best course of action when what is honourable and what is advantageous are in conflict. Immediately and permanently popular in antiquity—Pliny the Elder (23/24–79) stated that one should always have a copy about one's person—the influence of the *De officiis* continued through Augustine (354–430) and Jerome (347–420) to Petrarch (1304–1374) and Erasmus (1466–1536), and beyond. Voltaire (1694–1778) remarked in his *Dictionnaire philosophique* (*Philosophical Dictionary*) that it is 'the most useful treatise on morality that we have'.

The manuscript is intriguing in a number of ways. Most significantly, it provides important evidence for the transition from manuscript culture to print culture that was under way in the second half of the fifteenth century. Although itself written out by hand, the manuscript is copied from two printed



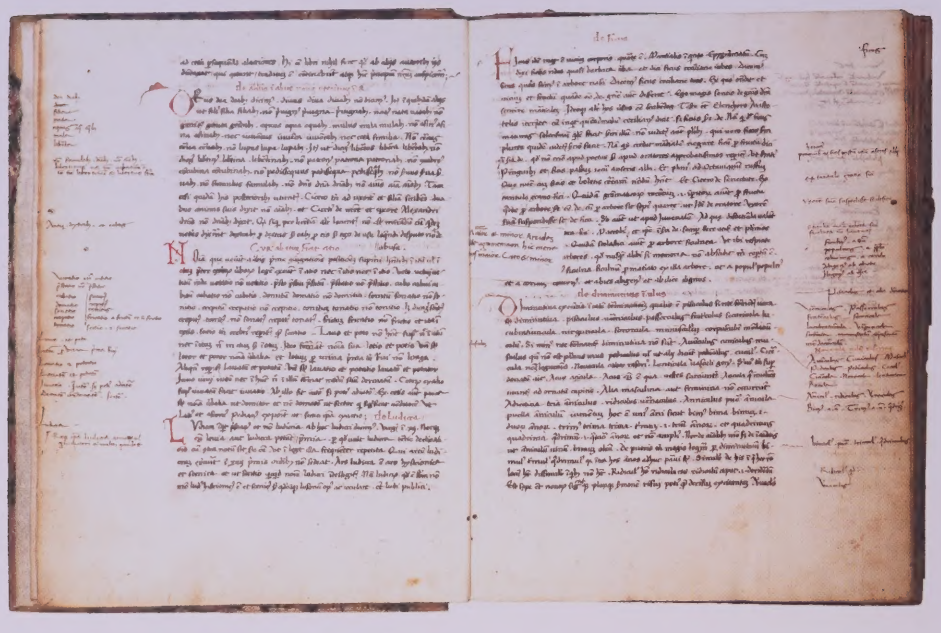
editions, the text of Cicero's *De officiis* coming from an edition printed in Paris in 1471–1472 and the text of the accompanying commentary by Pietro Marso (1441–1511) coming from a Venetian edition printed in 1481. The precise relationship between our manuscript and the two printed texts remains somewhat mysterious, as does the reason for which the manuscript was made. It appears to have been produced in the circle of the humanists Johann Heynlin (c. 1425–1496) and Guillaume Fichet (1433–c. 1480), the founders of the Sorbonne Press, perhaps in preparation for the printing of a new edition. If it was produced as a 'working copy', however, it is a particularly fine one. Both the text and surrounding commentary are written in a highly professional hand, and the manuscript features a large number of initials painted in red and gold. It also enjoys an illustrious provenance, the binding suggesting that it once belonged to a Dauphin of France, probably the future Francis II (1544–1560).

47 Lorenzo Valla (c. 1407–1457). *Elegantiae*. Italy, 1485.

When the University of Toronto's library was lost to fire in 1890, it contained (as far as can be ascertained) just one early manuscript: a fifteenth-century copy of Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae linguae latinae* (*Elegance of the Latin Language*).[102] Over the years, the University acquired replacement copies of at least some of the prominent books that had perished in the flames. The loss of the University's copy of the 1491 de Plasiis edition of Dante (c. 1265–1321), for example—a book that, according to William Henry van der Smissen (1844–1929), a librarian at the time of the fire, 'Every student and graduate will remember'[103]—was repaired through the donation of another copy from the personal collection of Milton A. Buchanan (1878–1952), Professor of Italian and Spanish in the first half of the twentieth century. It was not until 2019, however, that the Fisher Library was able to make good the loss of the Valla manuscript through the acquisition of another fifteenth-century copy of the *Elegantiae*.

In terms of both content and context of production, this manuscript belongs firmly to the Renaissance. Lorenzo Valla was a leading Renaissance humanist in the first half of the fifteenth century who, despite being a Catholic priest, enjoyed a difficult relationship with the Church. A skilled Latinist, Valla used his linguistic expertise to question the Vulgate translation of the Bible and to argue that the Apostles' Creed could not have been composed by the Apostles. Most famously—most notoriously—he applied himself to disproving the authenticity of the *Donatio Constantini* (*Donation of Constantine*), a document purporting to be an imperial decree issued by Constantine the Great (c. 272–337) whereby secular authority over the Western Roman Empire was transferred to the Pope, but actually a forgery of the eighth or nineth century. In the *Elegantiae*, Valla subjects the Latin language itself to critical appraisal and advocates for the superiority of Classical usage over later medieval developments. This view would quickly become central to humanist scholarship and education.

Given Valla's place in the humanist tradition, it is fitting that the Fisher's manuscript appears to have been produced in an educational context. The scribe identifies himself as Federicus son of Petrus—his surname has unfortunately been erased—and tells us that he was just sixteen when he wrote out the manuscript, presumably as part of his schooling. The copying was, in fact, a shared labour as several distinct hands are present, employing humanist scripts ranging from moderately formal to hastily cursive. The manuscript also comes with an interesting provenance, having once belonged to Count Guglielmo Libri (1803–1869), a mathematician and unusually determined book thief, who



pillaged the public collections of France following his unfortunate appointment as secretary of the *Commission du Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Commission for the General Catalogue of Manuscripts in French Public Libraries), eventually amassing a collection of some 30,000 items.

48 Clément Prinsault (fl. 1466–1470). *Traité de blason*. Northern France, c. 1492.

Clément Prinsault begins his short treatise on heraldry by claiming Alexander the Great (356 BCE–323 BCE), Hector, and Julius Caesar (100 BCE–44 BCE) as the earliest armigers. Modern scholarship prefers to date the emergence of heraldry in a more or less recognizable form to the middle of the twelfth century, though its ultimate origins remain disputed. Once it had emerged, however, it soon began to accrete 'rules and terminology' and develop 'ever more complex patterns'.[104] With increasing complexity came the need for explanatory texts like Prinsault's, which dates from around 1470 and was based partly on earlier works and partly on consultation with contemporary heralds.[105] Quickly establishing itself as a standard introduction, it circulated in both manuscript and print well into the seventeenth century.

Although it is a secular text, Prinsault's arrangement of his treatise into twelve chapters was made, in the author's words, 'in reverence to the twelve blessed apostles'. This authorial nod to religious sensibilities is greatly extended in this particular manuscript by the addition of a half-page miniature of God the Father enthroned, a full-page miniature of the *Arma Christi,* or Arms of Christ, and a poem on these arms by Jean Molinet (1435–1507). The inclusion of the Arma Christi is fairly frequent in late medieval prayer books, but rare in manuscripts of Prinsault's treatise, and their presence transforms this copy into a hybrid secular-devotional book. Their depiction in the manuscript effectively blends the heraldic and the religious: the miniature is simultaneously a traditional cruifixion scene, with Christ crucified on Calvary and the Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist in attendance at the base of the cross, and an heraldic achievement, with the crucified Christ and the Instruments of the Passion as charges on an escutcheon and Mary and John playing the role of supporters on a compartment.

The exact context of the manuscript's production, and the motivation for this pronounced blending of the secular and the devotional, is difficult to reconstruct, though the prominence afforded to the La Haye coat of arms makes some sort of association with this family likely. The manuscript appears to have been modified shortly after its original production by the addition of a short section at the end.

This additional section opens with a full-page rendering of the arms Jean d'Armagnac (1467–1500), duc de Nemours, placed so as to face a similar rendering of the La Haye arms at the end of the manuscript as it was originally produced. Jean d'Armagnac married one Yolande de la Haye (d. 1517) in 1492, and the modification of the manuscript may well be related to this event. Whatever the identity of its original owner, however, it is clear that the manuscript remained in use for at least two centuries, as many of the dozens of coats of arms included in it have been annotated in a 16th-century hand, while the nine shields illustrating the basic armorial tinctures—or, argent, gules, azure, sable, vert, purpure, ermine, and vair—have annotations in a seventeenth-century hand.

49 *Book of Hours*. Rhineland, late 15th century.

The text of this book of hours was produced in the Rhineland towards the end of the fifteenth century; the illustrations are a little later, having been added at some point in the sixteenth century. Like many books of hours from the Netherlands and Germany, the text is in a vernacular language—in this case Middle Low German—rather than Latin. This eschewal of Latin is typical of prayer books produced under the influence of the *devotio moderna* movement, and was part of the movement's attempt to spread its message to all levels of society, not just the educated elite.[106]

Like most books of hours, this one begins with a calendar. In addition, however, to the listing of the various fixed feast days month by month, there is also included a computistic calendar setting out the full nineteen-year cycle of the golden number. It had been known since at least the fifth century BCE that, although the solar and lunar calendars do not keep step with each other over the course of a single year, the two can be correlated over a longer period of time, with nineteen solar years being equal to 235 lunar months.[107] Using this nineteen-year cycle, a number can be assigned to each year to indicate the dates of each new moon for that year. By the twelfth century this number had come to be termed the *aureus numerus*, or golden number, an honour bestowed upon it because of the importance of the lunar calendar within any given year for the fixing of the date of Easter and all related moveable feasts and seasons.[108]

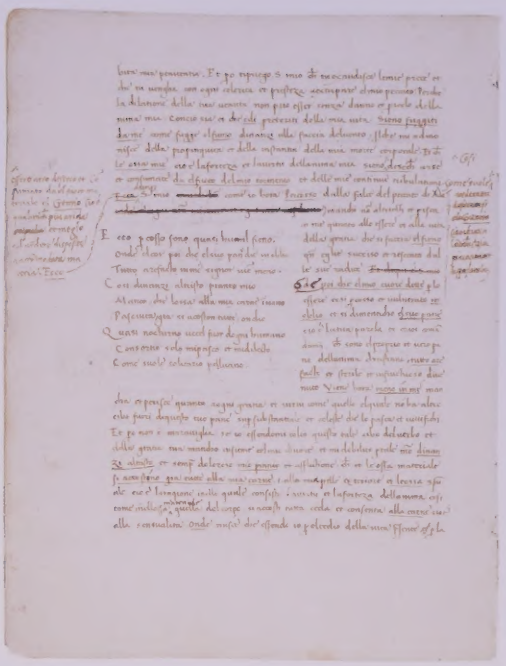
Most of the text of this book of hours is written on paper in black and red in a gothic cursive script. It also features, however, nine elaborately decorated Lombardic initials, and the leaves on which these initials appear are of vellum rather than paper. This use of vellum and paper together was not uncommon in late medieval manuscript production: vellum remained the preferred medium,

especially for luxury manuscript; but paper was rather less expensive (though still far from cheap). It appears that the Lombardic initials were originally the only decorative element in the manuscript, but in the sixteenth century a series of miniatures was added. These miniatures follow one of the two illustrative sequences commonly found in books of hours: a sequence illustrating the Passion of Christ, which corresponds to the section of text called the Hours of the Cross. (The other sequence, absent here, illustrates the Nativity of Christ, and corresponds to the Hours of the Virgin.) In this book of hours, the section of text known as the Suffrage of the Saints is also illustrated. The choice of which saints to include allowed for the customization of a book of hours in accordance with the inclination of either artist or patron (or both). In this case, the saints portrayed are Saint Apollonia (d. 249) and Saint Margaret of Antioch (c. 289–c. 304). The former, as patron saint of dentists, proudly grips a bloody tooth in a pair of tongs; the latter nonchalantly dispatches a dragon.

50 Girolamo Benivieni (1453–1542). *Psalmi penitentiali di David tradocti in lingua fiorentina et commentati per Hieronymo Benivieni.* Florence, late 15th century.

The career of Girolamo Benivieni mirrors the history of his natal city, Florence, in the closing decades of the Quattrocento and opening decades of the Cinquecento: his youthful activity as a poet coincided with the great period of creativity under Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449–1492); he subsequently followed the extreme piety of Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498) to its destructive end; and he finally established himself as an elder statesman of Florentine letters under the restored Medici. Afflicted with poor health from his youth, Benivieni devoted himself to his studies, excelling in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, though it was the vernacular poetry of Dante (c. 1265–1321) and Petrarch (1304–1374) that most attracted him. His own early success as a poet allowed him into the most rarified artistic and intellectual circles, and he became close friends with Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494). Together with Pico he fell under the spell of Savonarola, which led to his participation in the infamous Bonfire of the Vanities. Even after the Dominican friar's own fiery demise, however, Benivieni remained true to his memory, and his poetry—including the translation of the Penitential Psalms contained in the present manuscript—took a decidedly spiritual turn. Nevertheless, he was able to reconcile with at least some of the Medici—ousted from Florence in 1494 at Savonarola's instigation and restored in 1512—and enjoyed in particular the patronage of Lucrezia de' Medici (1470–1553), daughter of Lorenzo the Magnificent and a fellow devotee of Dante.[109]

A large part of the significance of the Fisher's manuscript of the *Psalmi penitentiali di David* (*Penitential Psalms of David*) lies in its close association with Benivieni himself. Though the text of both the psalms and the accompanying commentary has been copied out in a practiced humanist hand by an unknown scribe, the manuscript also contains corrections and annotations in Benivieni's own hand, as well as his autograph on the first leaf. More generally, the manuscript exemplifies many of Benivieni's particular interests, some of which can be traced from his youth, some of which he owed to the influence of Savonarola. While his choice of text is evidence of the latter—the Penitential Psalms take sin and repentance as their theme, two topics dear to Savonarola's heart—his decision to translate these psalms into Italian was, on the one hand, made possible by his training in Hebrew, and, on the other, indicative of his lifelong interest in vernacular poetry; and his decision to employ Dante's terza rima in



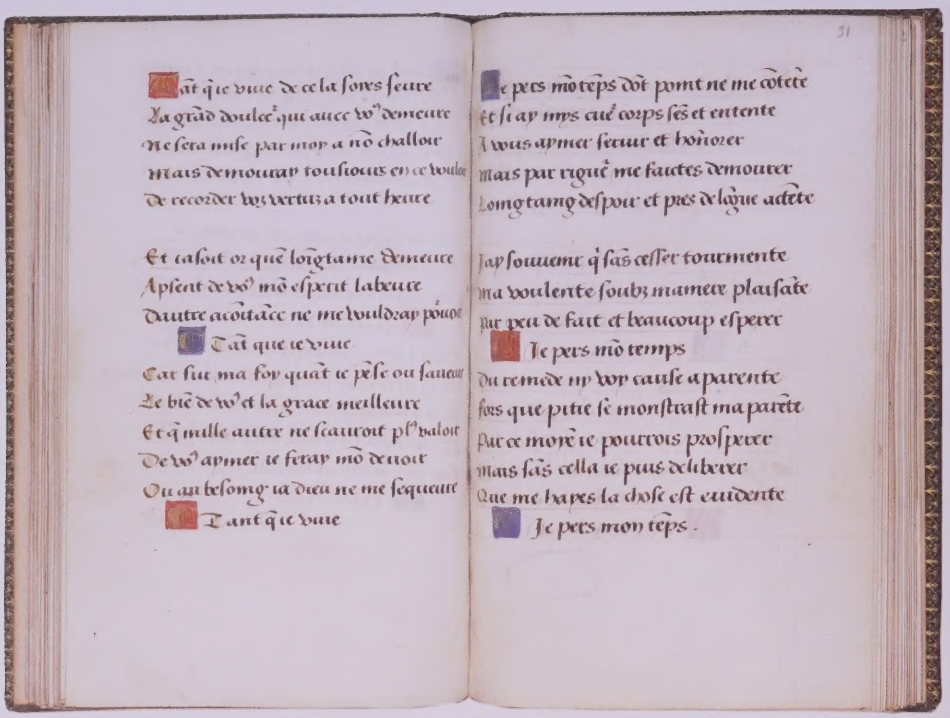
his translation evinces Benivieni's attachment to this poet in particular. (In 1506 Benivieni would publish an edition of the *Commedia* (*Divine Comedy*), and in 1515 he would collaborate with Lucrezia de' Medici in applying to Pope Leo X (1475–1521), Lucrezia's brother, for his support in securing the return of Dante's body from Ravenna to Florence.)[110] Benivieni's translation of and commentary on the Penitential Psalms eventually found their way into print, issuing from the presses of Antonio Tubini (fl. 1500–1518) and Andrea Ghirlandi (fl. 1500–1518), two printers who had themselves been enthusiastic supporters of Savonarola.

This manuscript formerly belonged to Milton A. Buchanan (1878–1952), Professor of Italian and Spanish at the University of Toronto, whose extensive collection of Renaissance books now forms part of the Fisher Library's European literature holdings.

51 Jean Marot (1463–1523) et al. *Recueil de rondeaux*. France, 1500–1515.

The rondeau was one of the most popular French verse forms of the late medieval and early Renaissance periods. One of the *formes fixes*, or fixed forms, the rondeau had its origins in dances songs structured around alternating solo passages and group refrains. Early in the development of the rondeau several variant forms coexisted and most rondeaux were written to be set to music. By the late fifteenth century, however, the rondeau had become a more purely literary form and such poems were often composed without any expectation of musical performance—of the 122 rondeaux found in this manuscript just six are known to have been set to music.[111] Moreover, a single variant had come to dominate: a fifteen-line form in which the refrain, several lines long in early rondeaux, had been replaced by a *rentrement*, a single line set outside the otherwise strict rhyme scheme.

All of the poems collected in this manuscript, which dates from the early



sixteenth century, follow this late form of the rondeau. The poets represented include Jean d'Auton (fl. 1499–1528), Pierre Gringore (1475–1538), Jean Marot (1450–1526), and Octavien de Saint-Gelais (fl. 1490–1505), all of whom belonged to the Grands Rhétoriqueurs, an innovative group of court poets active from around 1460 to 1520. The most famous of these poets today is Pierre Gringore, at least in part owing to his prominent (if largely unhistorical) role in *Notre-Dame de Paris* (*The Hunchback of Notre-Dame*) by Victor Hugo (1802–1885). It was long believed that Gringore directly supervised the making of this manuscript, and it is true that he almost certainly had a hand in the production of another manuscript from the same period.[112] Evidence for a direct connection between Gringore and the Fisher manuscript is, however, weak; the connection was made by a former owner of the manuscript, the French bibliophile Count Auguste de Blangy (1833–1918), on the grounds that seventy-six of the 122 poems in the manuscript also appear in a collection 350 rondeaux long attributed to Gringore. It has recently been pointed out, however, that there is little evidence that Gringore assembled the 350 rondeaux, and he certainly did not write all of them.[113] Nevertheless, it is not unlikely that one of the poets represented in the manuscript arranged for its production, so Gringore's involvement remains a possibility.

Whoever oversaw the manuscript's production, the numerous initials and pilcrows, painted in gold over alternating red and blue, and the handsome, calligraphic script argue for an intended audience among aristocratic circles, probably at the court of Louis XII of France (1462–1515) and Anne of Brittany (1477–1514). A number of the poets whose work appears in the manuscript had very close ties to this court: Pierre Gringore was one of Louis XII's favourites; Jean d'Auton was his official historiographer; and Jean Marot was secretary to Anne of Brittany, before becoming the official poet of Louis XII, and later Francis I (1494–1547). A courtly context would also account for the theme of all of the poems in the collection: courtly love. Though far from being the only concern of the Grands Rhétoriqueurs—indeed, they are best known today for their stylistic practices, and especially their complex word play—courtly love is nevertheless a recurrent element in their poetry, as it had been in much French poetry of the medieval period. The theme is approached from a number of angles, and the collection includes poems ranging from flirtation to adoration to complaint.

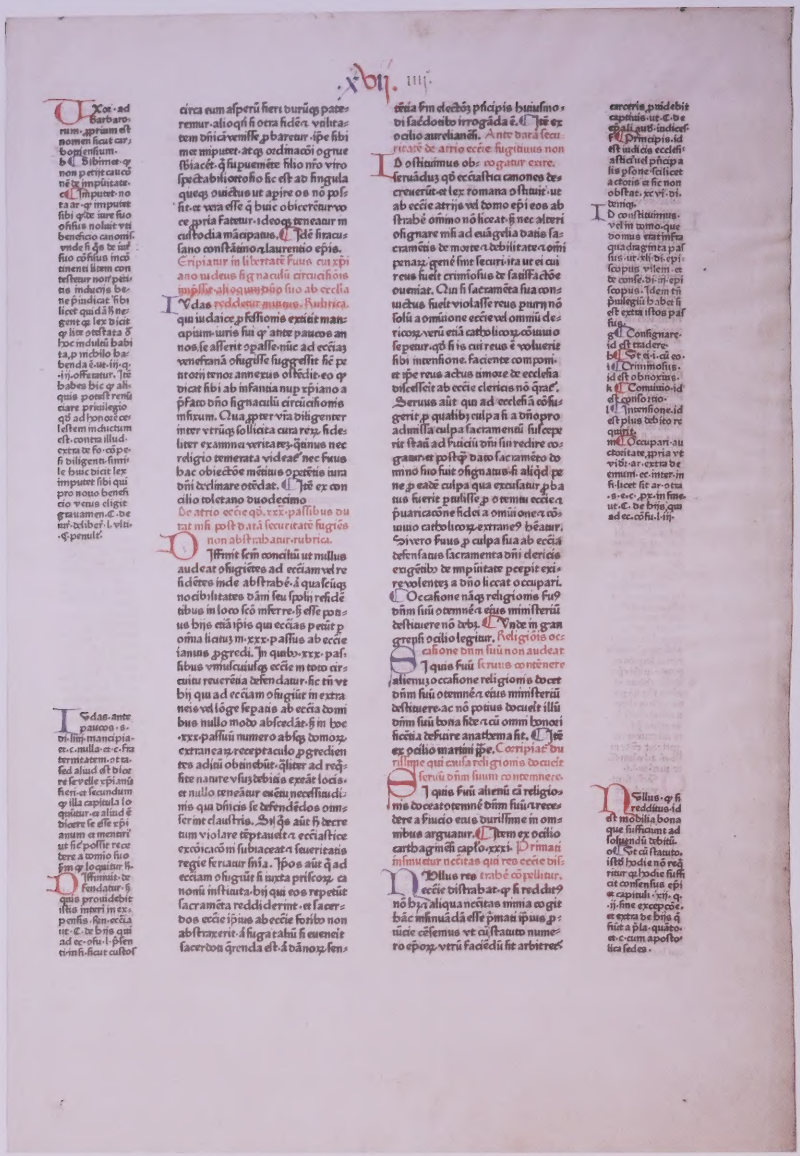
INCUNABULA

The term 'incunabula' refers to books printed in the West after the invention of the moveable-type printing press by Johannes Gutenberg (c. 1400–1468) around the year 1450, and before 1501. The word 'incunabulum' in Latin means 'cradle', thereby conveying the idea of the infancy of printing in Europe, long after similar technology had been developed in East Asia. Was the invention of the printing press a revolution? Some have argued that it was, and certainly the press helped prepare the way for social revolutions like the Reformation by allowing for the easier dissemination of information. Multiple copies of texts could now be produced within a relatively short space of time and at a relatively low cost, meaning more people were reading and more ideas were being spread across a broader expanse of territory. But the books themselves did not look strikingly dissimilar from the manuscripts that preceded them. The new typefaces generally imitated the national hands of the countries in which they were designed; illumination and rubrication remained consistent features; bibliographical information, when recorded at all, was still generally confined to the colophon at the end of the book rather than at the beginning on a title page; and it was not at all unusual to find books being printed on vellum instead of on the relatively new medium of paper. These were indeed products of a wonderful new technology, but they remained medieval books nevertheless.

52 Gratian (fl. twelth century). *Decretum*. Mainz: Peter Schöffer, 1472.

While the development of printing with moveable type in Europe is forever and inextricably tied to the name Johannes Gutenberg (c. 1400–1468), the contribution of Peter Schöffer (c. 1425–1502 or 1503) is also worthy of memory. Having spent the early part of his career in Paris working as a scribe, Schöffer collaborated with Gutenberg in the early 1450s on the printing of the famous forty-two-line Bible. The collaboration was not to last, however: by the end of 1455 Schöffer was testifying against Gutenberg in a case brought by Johann Fust (c. 1400–1466), whose substantial loans had underwritten Gutenberg's enterprise; and by 1457, with Gutenberg effectively bankrupted by the legal proceedings, Fust and Schöffer had gone into business together. Fust died in 1466, but Schöffer carried on the business under his own name, producing over 250 books, pamphlets, and broadsides by the time of his death in 1502 or 1503.

This leaf from an edition of the *Decretum* (*Decree*) of Gratian printed by Schöffer in 1472 exemplifies the continuity between the earliest printed books and the manuscript tradition that preceded them. Such continuity is hardly surprising, for not only did manuscripts provide the only model of book production for the first printers, but scribes from the manuscript tradition—scribes such as Peter Schöffer—were actively involved in early printing. To begin with, this copy of the 1472 *Decretum* is printed on vellum, the medium that had dominated manuscript book production. Moreover, the layout of the text on the page follows longstanding manuscript traditions: the division of the main text into two columns was common in manuscript copies of reference works like the *Decretum*; and the arrangement of the commentary in the margins, which derived ultimately from the practice of adding marginal notes by hand, also had a long history. The use of colour, too, gives the leaf a particularly medieval aspect. In this copy, the initials, pilcrows, and running head have been added by hand, the initials and pilcrows in spaces left for that purpose by the printer, with the alternation of red and blue a common feature of manuscripts of the late medieval period. The rest of the rubrication, however, is printed, making this an early example of printing in two colours. This would have required that each sheet be put through the press twice, a technically challenging, and costly, exercise. None of this is to say, however, that Schöffer was out of touch with recent developments in book design, as is evidenced by his typefaces. The main text of the *Decretum* is printed with the type from his forty-eight-line Bible of 1462 and has been described as *fere-humantistica*, or 'almost humanist'—it is, in other words, influenced by the humanist scripts emerging in Renaissance Italy.[114]



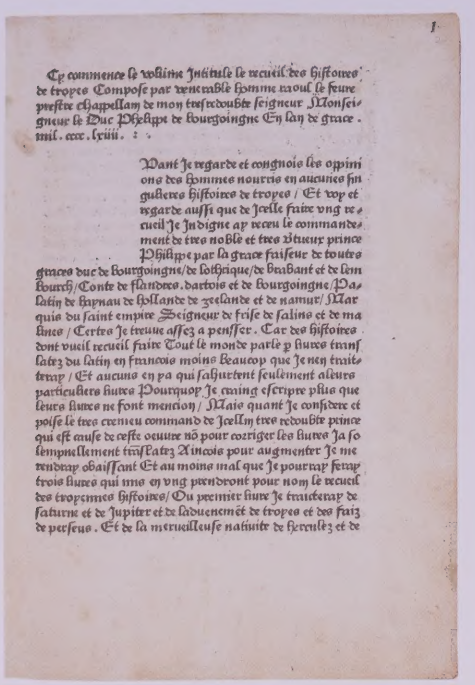
Nevertheless, Schöffer was producing an essentially medieval book; not only that, he was reproducing the text of a quintessentially medieval work. By the early twelfth century, canon (or church) law was in great need of reorganization. Existing compilations of the law were confused, even contradictory, and unsuited to 'an institution [the Papacy] which had shaken off the domination of the Emperor and was becoming an arbiter of European politics.'[115] As a resident of the

town of Bologna, the Camaldolese monk Gratian was in an excellent position to tackle the problem. A university—the first modern university—had been founded in Bologna in 1088 and was at the centre of revived interest in Roman law, as embodied in the *Corpus iuris civilis* (Corpus of Civil Law) of the Emperor Justinian (c. 482–565). Justinian's great project of codification provided a clear model for Gratian, and the result was a work, the *Decretum*, that would form the basis of the *Corpus iuris canonici* (Corpus of Canon Law). This great collection of canon law would only be superseded in 1917, when Pope Benedict XV (1854–1922) promulgated the Code of Canon Law.

This leaf was presented to Marion Brown, the first Head of Rare Books and Special Collections at the University of Toronto, by Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt (1903–1992), the author of one of the accompanying essays.

53 Raoul Lefèvre (fl. 1460–1464). *Le recueil des histoires de Troyes*. Bruges: William Caxton, 1474 or 1475.

Raoul Lefèvre, sometime chaplain to Philip the Good (1396–1467), wrote his *Histoire de Jason* (*Story of Jason*) in around 1460, followed by this romance, *Le recueil des histoires de Troyes* (*Collected Stories of Troy*), some four years later. A translation of the *Recueil* by William Caxton (c. 1422–c. 1491), entitled the *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, appeared in 1473 or 1474 from Caxton's own press—the first printed book in English. About a year later Caxton published the original French text. The French *Recueil* is without doubt one of the earliest books printed in that language, and perhaps even the first, as was maintained by the great nineteenth-century bibliographer Jacques-Charles Brunet (1780–1867) in his influential publication the *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur des livres* (*Handbook for Booksellers and Booklovers*).[116] More recent research suggests that three books printed in Lyon by Guillaume Le Roy (fl. 1473–1488) may rival that claim, though the precedence of Caxton's French *Recueil* is still asserted in much contemporary scholarship.[117] One thing is certain: Caxton was the first to print bilingually in English and French, and this book is also the first instance of a French literary work to appear in that tongue. The two foremost English incunabulists, Paul Needham (1943–) and Lotte Hellinga (1932–), suggest that the *Recueil* was printed in the Low Countries in 1474 or very early 1475, based in large part on a comparison of the type and paper stock used in this book with that found in Caxton's two previous publications, the English *Recuyell* and *The Game and Playe of the Chesse*.[118] Indeed, the French *Recueil* is printed using the first type created by Caxton.



Ce commence le volume intitule le recueil des hiſtoires de troyes Compoſe par venerable homme maoul le feure preſtre chapellain de mon treſredoubte ſeigneur Monſeigneur le Duc Phelipe de bourgoingne En lan de grace. mil. cccc. lxiiii. ⁊ ⁊

Vant Je regarde et congnois les opinions des hommes nourris en aucunes ſingulieres hiſtoires de troyes / Et voy et regarde auſſi que de Jcelle faire vng recueil Je Indigne ay receu le commandement de tres noble et tres Vertueux prince Phillippe par la grace faiſeur de toutes graces duc de bourgoingne/de lothrique/de brabant et de lem bourch/Conte de flandres. dartois et de bourgoingne/Palatin de haynau de hollande de zeelande et de namur/Marquis du ſaint empire Seigneur de friſe de ſalins et de malines / Certes Je treuue aſſez a penſſer. Car des hiſtoires dont vueil recueil faire Tout le monde parle p pluſieurs traictez du latin en francois moins beaucop que Je nen traicteray / Et aucuns en pa qui ſaluertent ſeulement aleurs particuliers liures Pourquop Je caing eſcripre plus que leurs liures ne font mencion / Mais quant Je conſidere et poiſe le tres crenelu commandement de Jcelluy tres redoubte prince qui eſt cauſe de ceſte oeuure nō pour corriger les liures Ja ſolempnellement traictez Ainçois pour augmenter Je me tendray obaiſſant Et au moins mal que Je pourray ſeray trois liures qui me en vng prendront pour nom le recueil des troyennes hiſtoires/ Ou premier liure Je traicteray de ſaturne et de Jupiter et de laduenemēt de troyes et des faiz de perſeus. Et de la merueilleuſe natiuite de hercules et de

The Fisher copy of the French *Recueil* enjoys an extraordinary provenance, having belonged to some of the most important private libraries in Britain and America from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. According to Thomas Dibdin (1776–1847), George Spencer (1758–1834), 2nd Earl Spencer, purchased the volume from the Duke of Roxburghe sale of 1812. John Ker (1740–1804), 3rd Duke of Roxburghe, had purchased it 'in a deficient state … of Mr. Payne, for 5*l.*, 5*s.*; and after it had been deprived of several other leaves, in order to render the copy in the Royal Library perfect, it was obtained at the sale of the Duke's Library, by the present Noble Owner of it, for no less a sum that 116*l*, 11*s*!'.[119] (Such a detail provides some insight into the value increasingly placed on Caxton imprints in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.) Unlike most of the incomplete copies, however, the Fisher's has both its first and final leaves. After Earl Spencer, the book passed to parliamentarian and Roxburghe Club member John Dent (1761–1826), whose library was sold in 1827.[120] It was then purchased by the London solicitor Philip Augustus Hanrott (1776–1856) and sold in 1833 to Bertram Ashburnham (1797–1878), 4th Earl of Ashburnham.[121] The book was subsequently sold in 1897 to 'an eccentric Manchester collector' Richard Bennett (1844–1900).[122] Bennett's entire library was purchased for £130,000 in 1902 by the American banker John Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913)[123]. The renowned antiquarian book dealer Hans P. Kraus (1907–1988) then acquired the book, selling it to the Mexican American industrialist Roberto Salinas Price (1936–2012) in 1971. Only seven copies (including this one) survive and they may be found in the British Library (which has two copies), Windsor Castle, the John Rylands Library of Manchester, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and the Morgan Library in New York.

54 Moses Maimonides (1138–1204). *Mishneh Torah*. Rome? Shelomoh bar Yehudah and Ovadiah bar Moshe, c. 1475.

Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon, known also as Maimonides or by the acronym Rambam, was perhaps the greatest Jewish philosopher of the medieval period. The *Mishneh Torah* (*Repetition of the Torah*) is his codification of Jewish law. Although it was criticized by several rabbinic authorities, the *Mishneh Torah* quickly gained renown and spread through much of the Jewish world; it is still widely studied today. It is not surprising, therefore, that it was printed more than once in the early period of Hebrew printing.

This edition, apparently the first of this work to be printed, is undated and lacks a title page. Towards the middle of the book, however, one finds a colophon that identifies the printers as Shelomoh bar Yehudah and Ovadiah bar Moshe, but does not mention a date or place of printing. On the basis of codicological and other considerations, scholars assert that it was printed in Rome in around 1474–1475: it is widely accepted that the earliest printed Hebrew books are a group of undated and unlocalized books that are believed to have been printed in Rome in around 1469–1475, shortly after the beginning of printing in Latin there,[124] and certain features of this book, such as the colophon and the printing of the text in two columns, point to its originating at the later end of that range.[125] More generally, however, a number of the book's features mark it out as an early example of printing in Hebrew, and of the printing of this work in particular. In addition to the lack of a title page, it does not have any decoration or ornamental frames and it contains the text of the *Mishneh Torah* alone; that is, it does not contain any commentaries, which soon became standard in editions of the *Mishneh Torah*. Finally, the text is in a square typeface that could almost be mistaken as being manuscript.[126]

The *Mishneh Torah* is divided into fourteen books and this edition contains them all in a single volume. At the end of some of the books there are undated ownership inscriptions in both Hebrew and Italian. All of the inscriptions appear to belong to the same person, Shabtai Beniventi/Sabbato Benevento, from Siena. In various places throughout the book one finds corrections to—or perhaps some sort of (self?)-censorship of—the text, especially in relation to words and phrases that refer to non-Jews and apostates. These corrections may not be in the same hand as the ownership inscriptions. Headings are provided in manuscript on many of the pages and are probably also in the second hand. In two places, manicules have been drawn in the margin to indicate a particular section of the text.

שאלי שלום ירושלם ישליו אוהביך׃

ספר שמיני וזהו ספר עבודה

הלכות תשע ווהו סידורן הלכות בית הבחירה
הלכות כלי המקדש והעובדים בו הלכות ביאת
מקדש הלכות איסורי מזבח הלכות מעשה הקורבנות
הלכות תמידין ומוספין הלכות פסולי המוקדשין
הלכות עבודת יום הכפורים הלכות מעילה

הלכות בית הבחירה יש בכללן שש מצות שלש מצות
עשה ושלש מצות לא תעשה וזהו פרשן א לבנות בית המקדש ב שלא לבנות המזבח בנוית
ג שלא לעלות עליו במעלות ד ליראה מן
המקדש ה לשברו סביב ו שלא להשבית שמידיתו

הלכות כלי המקדש והעובדים בו

יש בכללן ארבע עשרה מצות שש מצות עשה ושמונה
מצות לא תעשה וזהו פרשן א לעשית שמן
המשחה ב שלא לעשות כמותו ג שלא למוך
מסנו ד שלא לעשות בפרטות הקטורת ה שלא
להקטיר על מזבח החוב חוץ מן הקטורת ו לעשות
הארון על הכתף ז שלא יסורו הבדים ממנו
ח שיעבור הלוי בכרזל ט שלא יעשה אחר
בסלאכת הבורו במקדש י לקדש הכהן לעבודה
יא שיהיו כל המשמרות שוות ברגלים יב ללבוש
בגדי כהונה לעבודה יג שלא יקדע המעיל
יד שלא יזה הרושן בעל האפוד

הלכות ביאת המקדש

יש בכללן חמש עשרה מצות שתי מצות עשה ושלש
עשרה מצוות לא תעשה וזהו פרשן א שלא
יכנס כהן שכור למקדש ב שלא יכנס בו כהן פרוע
ראש ג שלא יכנס בו כהן קרוע בגדיו ד שלא
יכנס מהן בכל עת להיכל ה שלא יצא כהן מן המקדש
בשעת העבודה ו לשלח שמאים מן המקדש
ז שלא יכנס שמא למקדש ח שלא יכנס שמא לחר
הטות ט שלא ישמש שמא י שלא ישמש שבזל
יום יא לקרש העובר ידיו ורגליו יב שלא
יכנס בעל טום להיכל ולמזבח יג שלא יעביד בעל טום
יד שלא יעבור בעל טום עובד טו שלא יעבור זד

הלכות איסורי מזבח

יש בכללן ארבע עשרה מצות ארבע מצות עשה
ועשר מצות לא תעשה וזהו פרשן א להקריב כל
הקורבנות המיוחים ב שלא להקריש בעל טום למזבח
ג שלא ישחט ד שלא יזהק דמו ה שלא יקטיר
חלבו ו שלא יקריב בעל טום עובד ז שלא
יקריב בעל טום אפי בקרבנות הגוים ח שלא ישל
שם בקרשים ט לפרות פסולי המוקדשין
י להקריב טום השמיני והשלשת ויקרם ומן
זה הוא נקרא מחוסר זמן ואין מקריבין אותו יא שלא
להקריב אתנן ומחיר יב שלא להקטיר שאור ודבש
יג לטלח כל הקורבנות יד שלא להשבית מלח
מעל הקרבנות

הלכות מעשה הקרבנות

יש בכללן שלש ועשרים מצות עשר מצות עשה
ושלש עשרה מצות לא תעשה וזהו פרשן א לעשות
העולה כמעשיה הכתובים על הכדר ב שלא לאכול
בשר עולה ג סדר התשאת ד שלא לאכול
מבשר חטאת הפנימית ה שלא יבדיל בחטאת העוף
ו סדר האשם ו שיאכלו הכהנים בשר קדשי
קדשים בחקדש ח שלא יאכלנם חוץ לעזרה ט שלא
יאכל זר מקדשי קדשים י שיסיד השלמים יא שלא
לאכול בשר קדשים קלים קודם זריקת דמים יב לעשות
כל מנחה כסדר מעשיה הכתובין בתורה יג שלא
ישים שמן על מנחת חוטא יד שלא יתן עליה לבונה
טו שלא תיאכל מנחת כהן יו שלא תאפה מנחה
חמץ יו שיאכלו הכהנים שיירי מנחות יח שיביא
ארם כל נדריו ונדבותיו ברגל שפגע בו ראשון יט שלא
יאחר נדריו ונדבתו יו ושאר רבריט שהוא חייב בהן כ
להקריב כל הקרבנות בבית הבחירה כא להביא קדשי
חוינה לארץ לבית הבחירה כב שלא לשחוט קדשי
חוץ לעזרה כג שלא להקריב קדשי חוץ לעזרה

הלכות תמידין ומוספין

יש בכללן תשע עשרה מצות שמונה עשר מצות עשה
ואחת מצות לא תעשה וזהו פרשן א להקריב שני
כבשים בכל יום עולות ב להדליק אש על המזבח
בכל יום ג שלא לכבותה ד להרים את הרשן בכל
יום ה להקטיר קטורת בכל יום ו להדליק
נרות בכל יום ו שיקריב כהן גדול מנחה בכל יום והיא
הנקראת חביתין ח להוסיף שני כבשים בשבת
ט לעשות לחם הפנים י מוסף ראשי חדשים
יא מוסף הפסח יב להקריב עובר התנופה
יג מוסף עצרת יד להביא שתי הלחם עם הקרבנות
הבאות בגלל הלחם ביום עצרת טו מוסף ראש השנה
יו מוסף יום צום יו מוסף הצג יח מוסף
שמיני עצרת יט לספר כל איש ואיש שבעת שבועי
ביום הקרבת העובר

הלכות פסולי המוקדשין

יש בכללן שמונה מצות שתי מצות עשה ושש מצות לא
תעשה וזהו פרשן א שלא לאכול קדשים שנפסלו או
שהשהו מתם טום ב שלא לאכול פיגול ג שלא
יותיר קדשים לאחר זמנם ד שלא יאכל נותר ה
שלא יאכל קדשים שנשחטו ו שלא יאכל ארם
שנשמא הקדשים ז לשרוף הנותר ח לשרוף הנשמא

הלכות עבודת יום הכפורים

מצות עשה אחת ואיזה שיעשה בעשה יום הכיפורים כלו
על הסדר כמו שכתוב בפרשת אחרי מות הקרבנות
והזדרים ושלוח השעיר ושאר העבודות

הלכות מעילה

יש בכללן שלש מצות אחת מצות עשה ושתים
מצות לא תעשה וזהו פרשן א לשלם המועל אשר
חשא ביתוספת חמשי וקרבן וזהו רין המועל ב
שלא לעבוד בקרשים ג שלא לגזוז קדשים
נמצאו כל המצות הנכללות בספר הזה מאה ושלש מתם
שבע וארבעי מצות עשה ושש וחמשי מצות לא תעשה

הלכות בית הבחירה

יש בכללן שש מצות שלש מצות עשה ושלש מצות לא
תעשה וזהו פרשן א לבנות בית המקדש ב שלא
לבנות המזבח בנוית ג שלא לעלות עליו במעלות
ד ליראה מן המקדש ה לשברו סביב ו שלא להשבית
שמידיתו וביאור מצות אלו בסרקים אלו

נגמר ספר שביעי והוא
ספר זרעים
והלכותיו שבע ופרקיו חמשה ושמונים

הלכות כלאים
עשרה פרקים

הלכות מתנות עניים
עשרה פרקים

הלכות תרומות
חמשה עשר פרקים

הלכות מעשרות
ארבעה עשר פרקים

הלכות מעשר שני
ונטע רבעי
אחד עשר פרקים

הלכות בכורים ושאר
מתנות כהונה שבגבולין
שנים עשר פרקים

הלכות שמטה ויובל
שלשה עשר פרקים

בריך רחמנא רמיין מריש ועד כען

ותבל מלאכת עבודת הקדש השבעה ספרים הראשונ׳ על
ידי המהוקקו שלמה בר יהודה ועובדיה בר משה ה יזכינו
להתחיל ולהשלים החצי האחרו׳ וספרי אחרו׳ לחיים ולשל׳

שג גאולת עולם תהיה ללויים וישרל שורש את אבי
אמו לוי הרי זה נזל כליו׳ אלמ שאינו לוי הואיל והערי׳
או השדות של לויים נזל לעולם שרין זה תלוי בסקוסות
או ולא בבעלים ולוי שיש את אבי אמו וישרל נזל מישרל
ולא כליים שלא נאמר נשלם עולם תהיה ללויים לא בערי
הלויים כל שבט לוי מוהרין שלא ינחלו בארץ
כנען וכן הן מוהרין שלא ישלו חלק בבזה בשעה שכובשין
את העירים שנאמר לא יהיה לכהני הלוי׳ כל שבט לוי חלק
ונחלה עם ישרל חלק בבזה ונחלה בארץ וכן הוא אומר
בארצ לא תנחל וחלק לא יהיה לך בתוכם בבזה וכן לוי
או כהן שנשל חלק בבזה ליקח ואם נשל נחלה בארץ
מעבירי אותה ממנה יראה לי שאין הרבי׳ אומרין
לא בארץ שבחרתה עליה בריית לא בזרעם ליצחק
וליעקב וירשה בניה ונתחלקה להם אבל שאר
כל האריצות שכובש בלך במלכי ישראל
הרי המהני והלוי׳ באותן הארצו ובביתן
ככל ישרל ולמה לא וכה לוי בנחלת
ארץ ישרל ובבותה עם אחיו בפני
שהובדל לעבוד את ה ולשרתו
ולהורו׳ דרכיו הישרי׳ ומשפטיו
הצריקים לרבים שנא יורו
משפטי׳ ליעקב ותורתך
לישרל לפי הובדלו
מדרכי העול לא
עודכין
מלחמה כשאר
ישרל ולא נחלין
ולא זוכין לעצמן
בסח נופן אלא הם חיל
ה שנאמ בדד ה חילו והוא
ברוך הוא זוכה להם שנ אני
חלקך ונחלתך ולא שבט לוי
בלבר לא כל איש ואיש מכל באי
העולם אשר נרבה רוחו אותו והבינו
מדעו להבדל לעמוד לפני ה לשרתו
ולעבדו לדעה את ה והלך ישר כמו שעשוהו
האלהים ופרק מעל צוארו עול החשבונות הרבי
אשר בקשו בני האדם הרי זה נתקדש קודש
קדשים ויהיה ה חלקו ונחלתו לעולם ולעולמי
עולמים ויזכה לו בעולם רבר המספיק לו כמו שזכה
להכהנים והלויים הרי רוזו עליו השלום אומ ה מנת חלקי
וכוסי אתה תומיך גורלי

לאשמר הארת שמחתי
Acquisto Libro

ברך בנו
אני שב
טל.
שבתי בניוסטי ← בראשית

55 John Duns Scotus (c. 1266–1308). *Quaestiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1476?

This incunabulum, a commentary on the *Sententiae* (*Sentences*) of Peter Lombard (c. 1096–1160) by the great thirteenth-century Scottish theologian Duns Scotus, is printed on vellum rather than paper. Johannes Gutenberg (c. 1400–1468) had himself printed his famous Bible using both media, with 135 copies issued on paper and another forty-five on vellum, of which a remarkable thirty copies survive.[127] It was less usual, however, to print a scholarly work like this one on vellum, and this is in fact that only known vellum copy of this edition of Scotus. Moreover, over the course of the five or so decades of incunable printing, printing on vellum became less and less common (though it never disappeared entirely). The cost of vellum had always made printing an entire edition on this medium a financial impossibility, and as printing moved away from the model of individual patronage that had prevailed for the production of most deluxe manuscripts to one based on multiple purchasers, the printing of even a limited number of special presentation copies, copies that may well make use of vellum, became unnecessary.[128] The addition of an elaborate illuminated initial, the other feature of this copy most obviously inherited from the manuscript tradition, was very common in the early years of printing. Indeed, it was expected, and even required in order to complete the text. Printers commonly left a space for such initials, as had scribes before them, sometimes with a small guide letter to make sure that the illuminator did not go astray. The completion of the text by hand in this way was an additional expense for the book's owner, however, and many early books have their initials left 'unrealized'—that is, the space for the missing initial is left empty.

The fact that this copy, and apparently this copy alone, is printed on vellum, together with its elaborate illumination, has led to speculation regarding the book's early provenance. The scholar who prepared this edition of Scotus' commentary was the Cambridge-trained theologian Thomas Penketh (d. 1487), who at the time of its publication was Chair of Theology at the University of Padua. In 1477, however, Penketh took up the Chair of Theology at the University of Oxford, and it has been suggested that he brought this specially produced vellum copy back to England with him to present to his patron. By the early 1480s Penketh had entered the circle of Richard (1452–1485), Duke of Gloucester, later Richard III, and if this relationship had already been established by 1477 it is possible that Penketh presented the book to the future king.[129] Any link with Richard is highly speculative, however—there is no external evidence and any internal evidence was lost when the book was rebound in the 1920s. The book's most famous recent owner was the great American collector Estelle Doheny (1875–1958).

Amarita nus ille pūsſim⁹ ſpoliatū videſ hominē ⁊ atrociter ſauciatū miſeratōis affectu ꝓpatīcs:medicinā attulit efficacē. qua curatis ipſi⁹ vulneribus ac plena reddita ſanitate: in ſui ꝓncipiū a quo deſcēdens ab Jer'lm deuiauerat:finalr reducat. ¶ De iſta ſauciſ ſanatiōe ſalubri ac deuiꝰ reductione finali tāq̄ de pedib⁹ ſedentis ſup ſoliū excelſum magr in h̄ ope finali determinat. vt ſic ex ꝓmo ⁊ z° daruit deū cē alpha. tā in ſe ens inter omnia ꝓmū: q̄ omniū alioꝝ originale ꝓn⁹.ſic ex z° ⁊ 4° appareat ipſum eſſe ⁊ o raz in ſe finē vltimū q̄ creature ſue p ſciēz in ſeipm finalr reductiuū.hāc aūt reductiōne finalē pcedit curatio ſemiplena ⁊ plēa curatio comitat. ¶ Secūdū hāc di. igitur pōt diuidi 4⁹ iſte. dicendo q magr p agit de hois ſauciſ curatiōe ſalubri. z° de hois deuiꝰ reductōe finali.curat enī hō ſalubriē in ſuſceptiōe deuota ſacroꝝ veraciū. ⁊ reducit finalr in pceptōe iocūda p:mioꝝ celeſtiū. Sacra enī diſponūt ⁊ ꝓparāt. ꝓmia vero pficiūt ⁊ aſſūmāt. ¶ Vel pōt dici q p agit de curatōe ſemiplena ſeu diſpoſitiua. ⁊ z° de curatōe plena ſeu pfectiua. ⁊ vēq̄ diuiſio redit in idē. Nā curatio ſemiplena fit p grām ſacroꝝ que ſunt medicine ſalubres.plena curatio ſeu finalis reductio fit p collatōez ꝓmioꝝ que ſunt iocūde refectiones. ¶ In p^ igit parte agit de ſacris p que curat la guid⁹ a morbo culpe. In z^ de ꝓmiis p que liberaf a langore pene. Et incipit z^ in ꝑn° vi.47. Poſt h̄ ic. ¶ Prima diuiſiſ in duas.p° nāq̄ determinat de ſacro in gñali.z° in ſpali.z^ in ꝑn° vi.z. Jā ad ſacramēta. ¶ Prima diuiſiſ in 2.in ꝓhemiū ⁊ tractatū.qui incipit ibi.Sacrꝫ ē ſacre ꝛc. Et illa in quatuor ſm q̄tuor que i ꝓhemio ꝓponit ptractāda.p° eſt quid ſit ſacrm. z° quare inſtituū. ibi. Triplici ex cā. z° i quo ꝺiſtat.ibi. Duo aūt ſunt ꝛc. 4° de diſcretiis ſacroꝝ.ibi. Jam videē reſtat. ¶ Et iſta in 2.in ꝓncipalē ⁊ incidētalē. q incipit ibi. Fuit tū. Et i^ incidētalis in tres.q primo agit de ſacro ſcipuo legis moſayce. z° qd ſibi cozrīdebat in lege nature.ibi. Queriē a°it. 3° redit ad declarādū q̄dā dubia de circūciſione.ibi. Dic dicēdū ē. ¶ De ſacro igit in ꝺmuni h̄ p tāq̄ notū occurrit ꝺide rātib⁹ ſacra.ſ. q ſacrm ſpālr ad grām ozdinaf.qō verū gñale ſi pticularius ⁊ clari⁹ ⁊ plani⁹ explicef: patebit veritas illoz q̄ de ſacro i gñali ꝺmuni ingrūf. ¶ Sz an ozdo iſte fuerit cauſe ad cātū.ul ſigni tantum ad ſignificatū difficultas oziē ꝓncipalr ex duobus.quoz vnū eſt gñale.ſ.de potētia creature ad creādū grām. z° eſt ſpāle.ſ. ꝓpria rō ⁊ excellētia ſacri ad ſactificādū animā. ¶ Secūdū h̄ igitur in hac p^ di.ubi de ſacro agit i ꝺmuni ⁊ p oēs de ozdine ei⁹ ad grāz ꝓncipalr eſt tractādū. Primo q̄rit i ꝺmuni an creatura poſſit habē aliquā actiōez reſpectu termini creatōis. ¶ z° de ꝓpa rōne ſacri ⁊ ei⁹ inſtitutōe. ¶ 3° ex iſtis ſi ſacrm pōt h̄e reſpectu grē creade aliē cālitatē.

AD primum ſic ꝓcedit. ⁊ arguit q creatura poſſit hēre actōez reſpectu termini creationis. ꝓmo q Aug.ſup Job. omel.80. ⁊ ponit in cañ.p^.q.p^.Detrahe. Que eſt iſta virtus aque tanta: vt coꝛp⁹ tangat ⁊ coꝛ abluat. Sz nō abluit coꝛ.i.aīa niſi p grām. ḡ aqua baptiſmalis effectiue ſe hz ad grām ō.coꝛ abluit. ¶ Item.87.q.q.78. Artifices iō de nihilo nō pūt aliqd fabricare: q̄ p coꝛpus opanf. ḡ p oppoſitū creatura ſpūalis pōt aliqd de nihilo ꝓducē:q nō opaf p coꝛp⁹. Et ꝺfirmaf. q̄ ſicut actio trāſiēs requirit paſſū in q̄ō agit:ita videf q actio imanēs nō regrit paſſuz.ḡ agēs actōe imanēte pōt agē ⁊ nō de aliquo paſſo. ⁊ ita creare.

Itē rōne ſic. Effect⁹ nō adequās virtutez agētis ſupioris pōt ab agēte inferioꝛi ꝓduci. Sz null⁹ effect⁹ inferioꝛ ſupma creatura adequat virtutē dei.nec adequatiōe ſimplr.qō oꝛ.nec ēt in rōe effect⁹.q̄ adhuc aliqd ſupi⁹ eo pōt eſſe effect⁹ dei.ḡ q̄libz inferi⁹ ſupma creatura pōt ab aliq̄ agente z° ꝓduci. aliq̄ aūt tale eſt qō no pōt ꝓduci niſi p creatōez.ḡ ꝛc. Maioꝛ ꝑbaf.q ſi effect⁹ in rōne effect⁹ nō adequat virtutez agētis.ḡ agens nō ſm totā potētia ſuā ꝓducit illū. ⁊ per ꝺns minoꝛ potētia ſufficēt ad ꝓducēdū illū. ¶ Et ꝺfirmaf. ⁊ ꝑbaf hec ꝺn^ in ꝑbatōe maioris. q̄ ſi ſm totā potētiā ꝓducēt effectū inferioꝛē. ḡ ſupioꝛ effectus nō oſtēdēt potētiā maioꝛē in cā q̄ in ferioꝛ. q̄ inferioꝛ oñdit totaz ꝛ quo ſi pōt

56 Publius Terentius Afer (c. 190 bce–c. 159 bce). *Comoediae*. Treviso: Hermanus Levilapis, 1477.

The Roman dramatist Publius Terentius Afer, known in English as Terence, wrote only six plays, all comedies, but this was enough to secure his legacy. The details of his life, as with so many ancient authors, are obscure, but the biographer Suetonius (c. 69–after 122) reports that he was born at Carthage but later enslaved and brought to Rome. Suetonius, however, was writing some three centuries after the fact and his account cannot be verified. Nevertheless, Terence's cognomen Afer, 'the African', is suggestive. First performed at Rome in the 160s BCE, Terence's plays established themselves at the heart of the Latin canon. Julius Caesar (100 BCE–44 BCE) may have complained that Terence's comedy lacked energy, but the purity of his Latin was unimpeachable—Caesar himself admitted him to be a *puri sermonis amator* ('lover of pure diction') and so great a stylist as Cicero (106 BCE–43 BCE) praised his elegance and sweetness.[130] Despite comic plots involving plenty of lust, greed, and deceit, the quality of Terence's Latin ensured the survival of his works through the Christian Middle Ages, during which they remained standard school texts. As a result, they survive in no fewer than 650 medieval manuscripts. Terence's popularity continued in the early years of printing and his works appeared in over a hundred incunable editions.

This copy of the 1477 edition printed by Hermanus Levilapis (fl. 1474–1494) features a number of manuscript embellishments. As often, the printer has deliberately left space for the addition by hand of initial letters, and these have been filled with Roman square capitals in a variety of colours, each with a delicately patterned background. In some parts of the commentary that surrounds the main text of the plays, pilcrows have been added between sentences and certain words carefully underlined. And on many pages, the printed text is surrounded by neat handwritten notes in red ink. Such manuscript additions are not uncommon in early printed books. More mysterious are the spaces left at various points for text in Greek. The printer clearly had access to some Greek type—in the commentary in particular there are short phrases printed in Greek—but perhaps not much, for although some Greek words are printed in the life of Terence that precedes the text of the plays, in most places where Greek text is required there is simply an empty space. On some pages these empty spaces appear alongside examples of printed Greek.

The provenance of this copy is also noteworthy, as it belonged to two historically significant collections. In the sixteenth century it was owned by the Neapolitan polymath and bibliophile Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601), whose library comprised 8,500 printed books and hundreds of manuscripts. One of

AELII·DONATI·GRAMMATICI·CLARISSIMI·IN·SEX·P. TERENTII·AFRI·COMOEDIAS·EXAMINATA·INTERPRETATIO:

ANDRIAE·PROLOGVS

POETA Quum primū animum ad ſcribendum appulit. Principium factū eſt a cōmendatione perſonæ: q̄ pudens: q̄ honeſtus: q̄ prudens Terentius. & honore maiore poetam potius q̄ Terentiū dixit: ut illuz hoc ipſo noīe: de quo laborat ornaret Poeta quz primū animū ad ſcribēduz appulit: Omnis huius prologi intentio hoc agit: ut nouo poetæ veniaz paret: & ueteri odium: & ut q̄maxime modeſtum. minimeque errantem Terentium probet. ¶ Poeta quum primum animum ad ſcribendum appulit. Iam meritum poetæ dedit poetam eundem dicendo: & ab animo eius quem defendit. ¶ Poeta quum primum animum ad ſcribendum appulit Senſus hic eſt: propoſuerat quidem poeta noſter ut in prologis argumenta narraret: ſed hoc imputat Lucio Lauinio aduerſario qui eum facere non permiſit quod propoſuerat maledictis ſuis ad reſpondendum eundem prouocans. ¶ Appulit appellere proprie dicitur cum ex pelago aut freto quis ad litAppellere
ſeus acceſſerit. Virgilius Hinc me digreſſum uestris deus appulit oris. P. appulit In ſecunda lectione appulit fuit: ſed appulit magis: ut Terentius: Nam poſtea ſic animum ad uxorem appulit. ¶ Id ſibi negocii: modo pro moleſtia & cura non labore. ¶ Populo ut placerent ut ne non ſignificat modo non eſt coniunctio ut placerent. Quas feciſſet: ad feciſſet rettulit fabulas: non ad placerent & eſt figura ſyllepſis. ¶ Quas feciſſet fabulas bene: feciſſet, non ſcripſiſſet. Vnde poetæ a faciendo dicti ſunt ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιεῖν. Sic Virgilius: Pollio & ipſe facit noua carmina. ¶ Verum aliter: Sic Virgilius: Maior rerum mihi naſcitur ordo. Maius opus moueo. Non enim hoc ſe legiſſe dicit: ſed quaſi ex ordine ipſo natum ſibi eſſe intelligit: quod credimus plærunque falſum: quod intelligimus certum eſt: Aliter autem contra ſignificat: ut Diis aliter uiſum eſt. Veruz aliter euenire multo intelligit: adeo nec præparauerat: nec intenderat quenquam lædere ut ſpe falſus laceſſituſque hoc faciat. ¶ Opera abutitur: Vtimur fructibus rei quæ ab amantibus ſaluo uſu nobis ſubminiſtratur. Abutimur quādo deperdimus & rem & fructum. Nam uſui eſt ager domus: abuſui uinum: oleum: & cætera huiuſmodi. Cicero Non debet (inquit) ea mulier cui uir bonorum ſuorum uſumfructum legauit cellis uinariis plenis relictis putare id ad ſe pertinere. Vſus enim non abuſus legatus eſt: ea inter ſe ſunt contraria. hoc in topicis habetur. ¶ Non qui argumentum narret quod uereprologi eſt officium. ¶ Qui. pro ut qui ergo modo non eſt prononem. ¶ Sed qui maliuoli ueteris poetæ Primum a natura maliuoli deinde a tempore: uel ab inuidia: ueteris a ſignoæmulationis poetæ. Vetus plærunque refertur ad laudem: interdum ad uituperationem ut hic & alibi Vetus ueternoſus ſenex: ueteris pro carioſi & quaſi rancidi poſuit: atque ideo maliuoli non criminibus ſed maledictis. Quid autem inter maledictum & crimen interſit docet Cicero in tuſculanis. ¶ Veteris ratio inuidiæ Poetæ cauſa inſectationis. ¶ Maledictis criminatio aduerſarii Veteris poetæ maledictis reſpondeat: quia ſenex Luſcius edebat fabulas adoleſcentulo tunc Terentio: & eleganter maliuoli maledictis ueteris commēdatio poetæ a perſona aduerſarii. Reſpondeat. excuſatio reſpondentis quod non obſiſtat ſed reſpondeat

Pinelli's many interests was optics, and Galileo was a frequent visitor to his library in the 1590s. In the eighteenth century this same copy was in the collection of Richard Farmer (1735–1797), Master of Emmanuel College, who did important early work on how Shakespeare (1564–1616) used Classical authors. Like Pinelli, Farmer was a bibliophile, and his library too numbered over eight thousand books. Moreover, Farmer seems to have been proud of the history of his copy of Terence, noting on the flyleaf: 'This book was from the Pinelli Library'.

57 Nicolas de Byard (fl. c. 1300). *Flos theologiae;* Juan de Torquemada (1388–1468). *Quaestiones euangeliorum tam de tempore quam de sanctis.* Basel: Johann Amerbach, not after 1481.

For most of the medieval period, books were stored in chests called *armaria*. As collections, and especially collections housed in institutions such as monasteries and universities, grew larger, this method of storage became increasingly inconvenient—not only did it require a large number of chests, but with the books piled up on top of each other it was often necessary to move many out of the way to reach the one that was needed. As a result, the practice emerged of storing books on shelves. While this improved access, it also left the books—extremely valuable items, even after the advent of printing—much more vulnerable to theft. One solution, developed in the fifteenth century, was the chained library. In a chained library, some or all of the books, though usually only large, expensive reference volumes, would be secured to the shelves by chains attached to their bindings. This arrangement came with complications of its own, for a chained book could only be read in close proximity to where it was stored—book chains were at most five feet in length, and generally closer to three or four feet. Nevertheless, the practice remained common until the beginning of the eighteenth century, by which time books had become inexpensive enough for the costs involved in chaining them to outweigh the benefits of enhanced security. Several late medieval and early modern chained libraries survive, the largest of which is the famous library of Hereford Cathedral.[131]

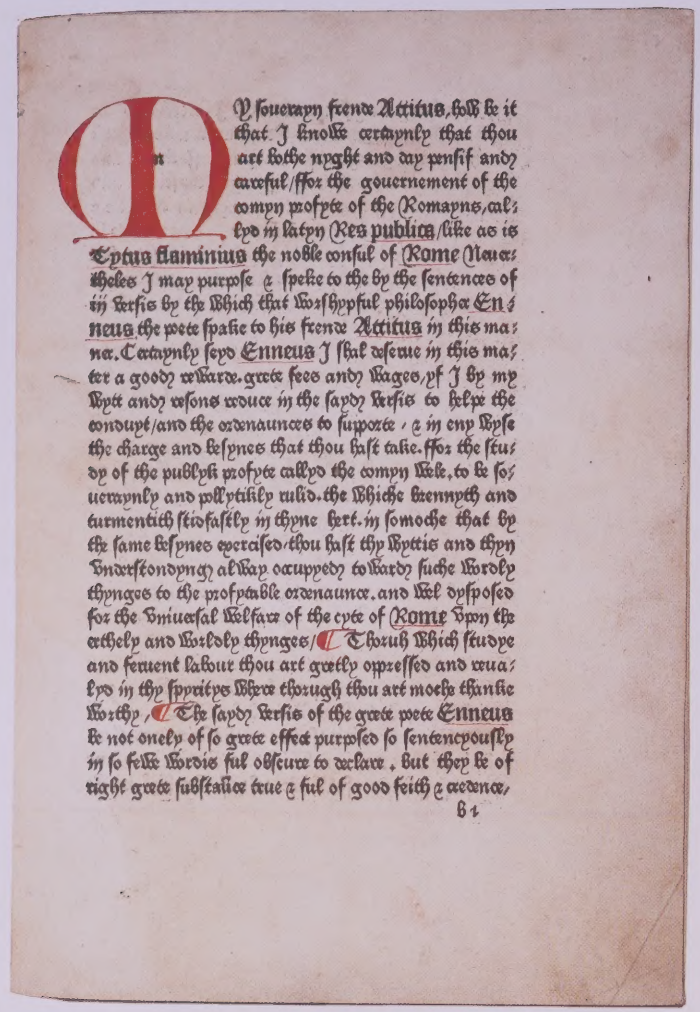
Books retaining their chained bindings, such as this copy of the *Flos theologiae* (*Flower of Theology*) and the *Quaestiones Euangeliorum* (*Examinations of the Gospels*), are relatively rare, as the chain was an unnecessary encumbrance once the book was no longer secured to a shelf. In this case, fifteen links survive with a combined length of about a foot and a half, though the chain would originally have been somewhat longer. The chain is attached to the top edge of the rear board, indicating that this book was probably stored flat with the front edge facing out, a common arrangement in early chained libraries. When the intention was to stand a book on its end it was usual to attach the chain to the front edge of the binding. This practice gradually emerged during the early modern period, though even then it was usual to have the front edge facing out rather than the spine.[132] The rest of the binding features blind-stamped doeskin, which has been dyed a distinctive pink. Discolouration of the dye in certain areas reveals that some of the binding's original furniture—central and corner bosses, and probably a title label on the upper board—has been lost.

The two theological texts found in this book have both been attributed to Juan de Torquemada, an influential Spanish cardinal of the fifteenth century. The authorship of the *Flos theologiae* remains an open question, however, and it is more often thought to have been written by the Dominican friar Nicolas de Byard.

58 Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 bce–43 bce). *On Old Age* and *On Friendship;* Buonaccorso da Montemagno (1391 or 1393–1429). *On True Nobility.* Westminster: William Caxton, 1481.

This volume, one of only thirteen complete copies known in existence, contains the first translation of any Classical author into the English language, as well as the first humanist text ever to be 'Englished', Buonaccorso da Montemagno's *On True Nobility.* A fine example of fifteenth-century typography and rubrication, it is also an excellent example of a late medieval book. Caxton, who had begun his working life as a merchant on the Continent, initially established a press in Bruges in 1473. Three years later he returned home to England, where he set up shop near the Houses of Parliament in Westminster. Over the course of his career, he is believed to have printed more than one hundred works, and is credited, through the dissemination of these texts, with having made an important contribution to the standardization of the English language.

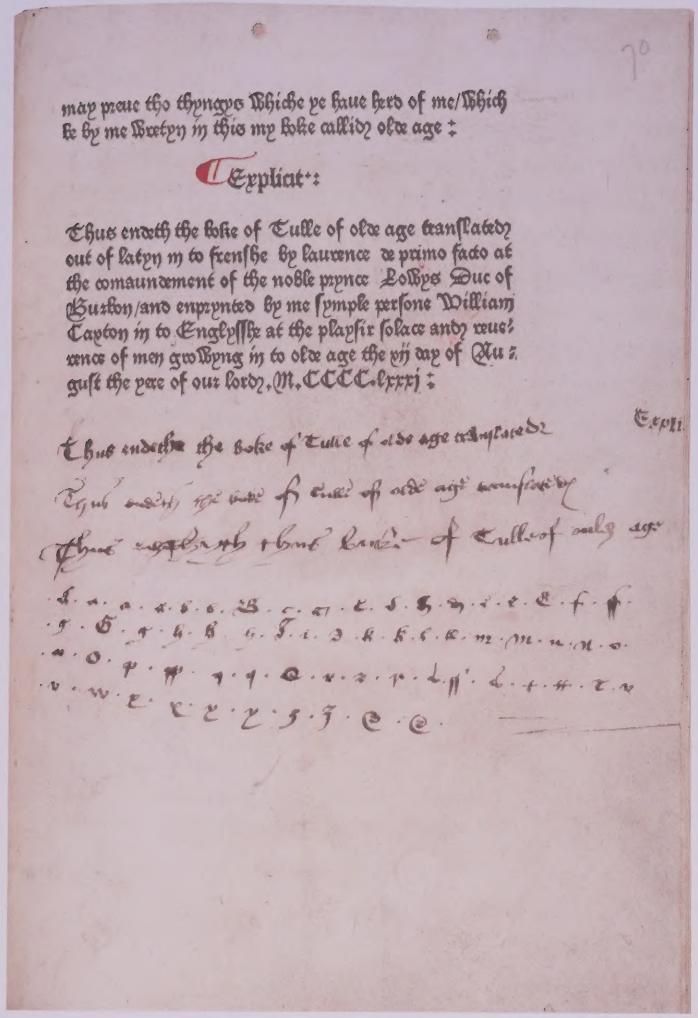
The first treatise in this volume, issued as Caxton states in the colophon 'at the playsir solace and reuerence of men growyng in to olde age', is an apologia for the abilities and wisdom of those living through their senior years. As is the case with its



O Y ſouerayn frende Attitus, holʒ be it
that J knowe certaynly that thou
art bothe nyght and day penſif and
careful/ffor the gouernement of the
comyn profyte of the Romayns, cal-
lyd in latyn Res publica/like as is
Tytus flaminius the noble conſul of Rome Neuer-
theles J may purpoſe & ſpeke to the by the ſentences of
in verſis by the which that worſhypful philoſopher En-
neus the pete ſpake to his frende Attitus in this ma-
ner. Certaynly ſeyd Enneus J ſhal deſerue in this ma-
ter a goody reward. grete fees and wages, yf J by my
wytt and reſons reduce in the ſayd verſis to helpe the
conduyt/and the ordenaunces to ſupporte, & in eny wyſe
the charge and beſynes that thou haſt take. ffor the ſtu-
dy of the publyk profyte callyd the comyn welk, to be ſo-
ueraynly and politikly rulid. the which brennyth and
turmentith ſtidfaſtly in thyne hert. in ſomoche that by
the ſame beſynes exercyſed thou haſt thy wyttis and thyn
vnderſtondyng alway occuppyed toward ſuche worldy
thynges to the profytable ordenaunce. and wel diſpoſed
for the vniuerſal welfare of the cyte of Rome vpon the
ethely and worldly thynges/ ¶ Thruh which ſtudye
and feruent labour thou art gretly oppreſſed and trua-
lyd in thy ſpyrityes where thruʒh thou art moche thankie
worthy/ ¶ The ſayd verſis of the grete pete Enneus
be not onely of ſo grete effect purpoſed ſo ſentencyouſly
in ſo fewe wordis ful obſcure to declare, but they be of
right grete ſubſtaūce true & ful of good feith & credence,

b 1

companion texts, the introduction and epilogue were composed by Caxton himself. Sir John Fastolf (1378–1459) had caused the translation of Cicero's *On Old Age* to be made by William Worcester (c. 1415–c. 1482) from a French version completed in 1405 by Laurent de Premierfait (c. 1370–1418). Fastolf had established his reputation fighting in the Hundred Years War and is believed to be one of the prototypes for Shakespeare's beloved character, Falstaff. After his retirement from military service, an important literary circle grew up around him that celebrated French and English letters. The translation of the other two treatises, *On Friendship* and *On True Nobility*, is attributed to Sir John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester (1427–1470), who has the ignominious distinction of being known as the 'butcher of England' for his



may preue the thynges Whiche ye haue herd of me/Which
I haue by me Wretyn in this my boke called olde age :

Explicit :

Thus endeth the boke of Tulle of olde age translated
out of latyn in to frenshe by laurence de primo facio at
the comaundement of the noble prynce Lowys Duc of
Guyen/and enprynted by me symple persone William
Caxton in to Englysshe at the playsir solace and reue-
rence of men gowyng in to olde age the xij day of Au-
guste the yere of our lord. M.CCCC.lxxxj :

Explt

Thus endeth the boke of Tulle of olde age translated

Thus endeth the boke of Tulle of olde age translated

Thus endeth the boke of Tulle of olde age

notorious ruthlessness during the War of the Roses. He was a cultured English Humanist as well, however, who had spent a number of years studying in Italy, befriending among others the Florentine bookseller Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421–1498). Whereas William Worcester had relied upon a French source for his translation, Tiptoft, who had been a Latinist at the University of Padua, returned to the original Classical source for his rendition of *On Friendship*. As Roger Ellis notes in *The Oxford History of Literary Translations into English*, it would seem that Caxton printed *On Old Age* first and then decided to add Tiptoft's translation of *On Friendship*, partly because that was the order in which Cicero had originally written them, but also because, as Caxton states in his epilogue, 'ther can not be annexed

olde age a bettir thynge than good and very friendship'.[133] The Buonaccorso was included, the printer suggests, as an excellent example of Ciceronianism.

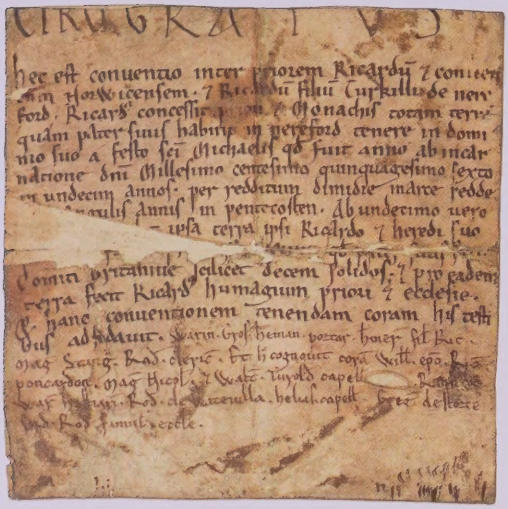
The Fisher copy enjoys a most interesting pedigree. The first mark of ownership reads 'per me thomas shupton' in a late-fifteenth- or early-sixteenth-century hand. Whether this is the Thomas Shupton who appears in the register of monks admitted to Cistercian Abbey of Whalley in Lancashire before 1500 will no doubt be a question of interest for those researching the book's early provenance.[134] In the seventeenth century, the volume formed part of the library of the avid book collector Sir Robert Coke (1587–1653), who was elected to Parliament for Coventry in 1614. That library was inherited by Coke's nephew, George Berkeley, 1st Earl of Berkeley (1628–1698), from whom it passed to Sion College, London, in 1689. There it remained until 1977. After being purchased by Laurence Witten Rare Books at the Sotheby's sale of that year, the volume had its Victorian binding removed, and a tasteful brown, blind-tooled goatskin binding with clasps, sympathetic to late medieval taste and crafted by the renowned English bookbinder Bernard C. Middleton (1924–2017), was added. The book was subsequently acquired by the Mexican American industrialist and author Roberto Salinas Price (1936–2012), from whose estate the University of Toronto obtained it in 2018.

DIPLOMATICS AND AUTHENTICITY

Diplomatics is the scholarly discipline that focuses on the critical analysis of historical documents. It concentrates its study specifically on the protocols observed by document makers in any given place and time which ensure a record's authenticity. The specific emphasis of the discipline, therefore, is on the relationship between documentary evidence and reality. As the artifacts in this section of the exhibition demonstrate, spiritual, legal, and economic documents had to be both reliable and authentic in order to be effective. Those who drafted such documents in the Middle Ages did so by observing accepted conventions and introducing certain visible cues that ensured that a record could indeed stand as a surrogate for the act to which it attested, with the authenticity it claimed to have.[135] The application of diplomatic scrutiny to documents had its beginnings in 1440 with Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457), whose examination of the *Donatio Constantini* (*Donation of Constantine*) led to his judgment that the artefact was, in fact, a forgery. The formal rules of the discipline, however, were not developed until Jean Mabillon (1632–1707) composed his *De re diplomatica* (*On Diplomatics*) in 1681.

59 *Chirograph.* Norwich? 1156.

The word chirograph, from *cheir* ('hand') and *graphō* ('to write'), is simply the Greek equivalent of the Latin *manuscriptum* ('manuscript'). In diplomatics, however, it has a very precise meaning, referring to a legal document containing multiple copies of the same text written out on a single sheet. The sheet was then cut into pieces, with each party to the transaction thereby retaining an identical copy of the text. Two measures were typically taken to guard against possible forgery. First, the cuts made to divide up the document were usually wavy or jagged, the distinctive join that resulted meaning that only the authentic pieces would fit back together. (These indented edges led to such documents being called 'indentures'.) Second, the word chirograph, variously spelled, was often written over the join before the cut was made, so that not only would the edges of the two pieces have to match, but the separated halves of the letters would have to line up as well. Physically, then, the chirograph functions in much the same way as a tally stick, examples of which are also included in the exhibition, with the authenticity of the original item guaranteed by the distinctive way in which it has been divided.



Of the two features used to guarantee authenticity, only one is present in this chirograph: the bottom half of the word 'CIROGRAPVS' can be seen at the top of the document, but with a straight rather than a wavy or jagged cut running through it. (Frequently, the opposite is true, with the word absent but the distinctive cut present; in such cases, it was common practice to copy the text on to two separate sheets—a quicker and easier process than making multiple copies on a single sheet—and then overlap the edges of the two sheets before making the distinctive cut.) The present chirograph dates from the middle of the twelfth century and records an agreement between, on the one hand, Prior Richard and the Convent of Norwich, East Anglia, and, on the other, Richard son of Turkill of Nereford. The name Turkill is of particular interest. It is a Latinized form of the Norse name Thorkild and suggests the ongoing presence of a Danish population

in East Anglia—this region had, after all, once been part of the Danelaw, and the whole of England had been under Danish rule as recently as 1042. The main text of the document is written out in a practiced hand that displays certain Anglo-Saxon features—note in particular the distinctive W in 'Norwicensem'. Added to the end of the document in a second hand is a list of witnesses. Whereas the cut made through the word chirograph attests to the authenticity of the physical document, the witnesses can be called upon to attest to the document's contents, including the identity of each party involved.

60 *Collection of Four Medieval Seal Matrices.* England, 13th and 14th centuries.

Although the medieval world knew of various methods for the authentication of documents and records, as the tally sticks and chirograph featured elsewhere in this exhibition attest, it is the seal that has become emblematic of this process. Medieval seals employed a variety of materials, from the familiar wax seal to the more specialized lead seal of the papal bull (examples of both of which may also be found in this exhibition); the Byzantine emperors, and later their Holy Roman counterparts too, even issued decrees with seals of gold, so-called chrysobulls. All these seals had in common, however, the need for a matrix, a sealing device whereby the design of the seal could be impressed upon whatever material was being used.

These four seals matrices, all of which are English and date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, demonstrate some of the variety to be found in the matrices themselves. Matrices could be manufactured from all manner of materials, from ivory to agate, but metal was the most common, and these matrices are all of either copper or bronze. Two common styles of matrix are also represented, the 'chess piece' matrix, which was intended to stand upright but could also be hung from a strap, and the flat matrix, which was meant to be worn around the neck, its flat design allowing it lie flush against the body. While matrices were designed to produce impressions in a variety of shapes, three of the most common

were the circle, the oval, and the vesica (or pointed oval, a shape usually associated with the seals of women and religious entities).[136]

In terms of the design of the impressions that these four matrices produce, each combines text and image, as is usually the case with medieval seals. Frequently, the two aspects of the design combine to refer in some way to the identity of the seal's owner. Thus the seal identified by its legend as belonging to the Convent of the Preachers of the Virgin Mary features an image of the Virgin and Child, with a tonsured monk in prayer below. The seal whose legend identifies John of Messingham as its owner repeats this motif, with John also depicted in prayer beneath the Virgin and Child, the scene enriched in this case by the addition of two stars and a tree or vine. In other cases, the relation between the owner and the design is less clear. The seal featuring the legend 'Sanctus Stephanus' and an image of Saint Stephen the Protomartyr (c. 5–c. 34) may have belonged to a religious foundation dedicated to the Saint, though given its circular shape it is possible it simply belonged to an individual who had adopted Stephen as a patron saint. Perhaps the most interesting of the legends on these seal matrices is found on the matrix featuring an image of a leopard. Here there is no apparent relation between legend and image, and the significance of the latter cannot be ascertained, though it seems likely that the leopard was some sort of personal emblem. Rather, the legend is self-referential, providing instructions on how to approach a document to which the seal has been applied: 'frange lege tege'. That is, break the seal, read the document, and then hide it from prying eyes. The nature of the instructions suggest, moreover, that this seal served a different purpose from the pendent seals commonly attached to medieval documents. While such seals did not have to be broken in order for the document to be read—they simply hung from the bottom of the document and authenticated it—the instruction to break and then read suggests that this matrix was meant to be used to seal private letters, a practice that became increasingly common during the post-medieval period. Here, then, the seal serves not so much to authenticate the document—though it may have retained that function too—as to guarantee that it has not been tampered with and that its contents therefore remain unread.

61 King John (166–1216). *Royal Charter.* Ludgershall? 1204.

This charter, bearing the great seal of King John, confers upon John the Butler about sixty acres of land in Woodhouse, Hull, and Overthorpe previously held by one Wulmer of Woodhouse, for the price of one mark of silver paid annually. The document is quite possibly in the hand of Simon Fitz Robert (d. 1207), Clerk of

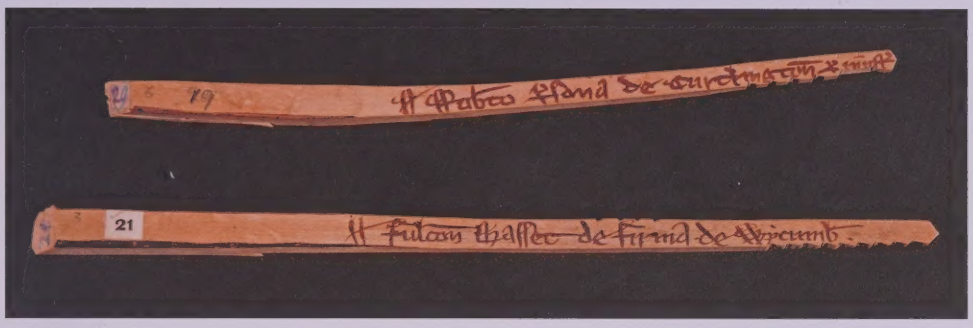
the Royal Chamber, then Archdeacon of Wells, and is witnessed by a variety of eminent personages including John de Gray (d. 1214), Bishop of Norwich, Geoffrey Fitz Peter (d. 1213), 1st Earl of Essex, and William de Cantilupe (d. 1239), King John's steward. The single vellum leaf has the text written on the flesh side in a beautifully rendered royal chancery script typical of the era, with no evidence of ruling. The obverse side of the red wax seal depicts the king in his posture as administrator of justice, while the reverse side shows him riding a horse in knightly style. The seal is suspended from the document by a tri-coloured cord of

white, brown, and green. Given the number of communities in England that bore the name Woodhouse at this time, and the fact that neither John the Butler nor Wulmer of Woodhouse (nor Overthorpe for that matter) can be definitively identified, the part of the kingdom to which the document pertains remains something of a mystery, though indications are that the lands were likely in Yorkshire.[137] Dated 17 January 1204 at Ludgershall, which is situated about twenty-six kilometres northeast of Salisbury, the charter was composed while King John was on progress through Wiltshire and Hampshire, and is one of many issued during the period.[138]

The document is a fine example of what Hubert Hall (1857–1944), the renowned Reader of Paleography at the University of London, described in 1908 as a 'transitional charter'.[139] In the last decade of the twelfth century, charters began to display stylistic variants that departed slightly from their Anglo-Norman predecessors. The superscription, for example, now regularly begins to include the formula 'Dei gratia' ('by the grace of God), and concessions are granted using the royal plural. The words 'confirmasse' ('to have confirmed') and 'per manum …' ('by the hand [of] …') are included, as are the calendar and regnal dates of the monarch. The *plica* or flap is blank with no text beneath.

62 *Wooden Tally Sticks.* England, 1250–1275.

If diplomatics is 'the study of the creation, form, and transmission of records, and their relationship to the facts represented in them and to their creator, in order to identify, evaluate, and communicate their nature and authenticity'[140], tally sticks stand as an excellent subject for non-codicological investigation. These two sticks, carved from hickory, record financial transactions involving two thirteenth-century men: Fulk Basset and Robert of Curclington. Wooden tally sticks had been used in commerce for thousands of years, originating in ancient Mesopotamia. Pliny the Elder (23–79) even comments on the best wood from which to make them.[141] They were certainly the most common medium used for the accurate preservation of financial records in England for centuries, beginning in the twelfth. (In fact, they were not officially abolished until 1826.) Indeed, in the Middle Ages their use appears to have been preferred to the recording of financial transactions on vellum in registers or rolls. At Michaelmas 1224, for example, the Exchequer's office purchased five shillings' worth of wooden rods, but only four shillings' worth of parchment.[142] Tally sticks could perform multiple functions, serving as receipts as well as records of debt. The names of those involved in the transaction would be written on a stick, with the amount of



money owed or paid recorded in a series of notches (a v-shape for pounds, broad grooves for shillings, sharp cuts for pence). The stick would then be split lengthwise, with one half being given to each party. At the time of the reconciliation of the account, both parties would bring their respective sticks with them to be reunited. If the halves did not fit exactly, then a forgery was clearly involved. In this sense, then, tally sticks were like chirographs since, like them, they are bipartite, requiring reunification to ensure validity.

The Fisher tally sticks record that £9.4s.4d. were received from Fulk Basset for the farm of Wycombe. This was probably the Fulk Basset who became Bishop of London in 1241, and died of the plague in 1259. The second stick reads: '£4.8p. from Robert of Curclington for an injustice'. They were probably part of the large cache of sticks housed over the centuries in and around the Palace of Westminster, until the office of the Receipt of the Exchequer was abolished in 1834. In October of that same year, in an act of supreme inefficiency, the sticks that had been stored for centuries in the Houses of Parliament were overstuffed into a furnace beneath the House of Lords to be burned, resulting in a conflagration that destroyed the old medieval buildings, now replaced by Pugin's grand pile that sits at the edge of the Thames.[143] The simple tally stick provides the origin of many English words and expressions still used in modern conversation including stock, stockholder, and tallying up.

63 Euphemia, Countess of Ross (d. c. 1395). *Property Deed.* Aberdeen, 1392.

Euphemia, Countess of Ross, issued this charter on 20 August 1392 in confirmation of a transfer of land from Thomas de Laske and John de Fothes to Euphemia's kinsman David Fleming (d. 1406). This was the culmination of a complex series of transfers that took place over a number of years and involved certain lands in the

Barony of King Edward, of which Euphemia was baroness.[144] David Fleming, a member of the influential Biggar branch of the Fleming family, had by the time of this charter already distinguished himself at the Battle of Otterburn, a famous Scottish victory over the English. Always high in the favour of Robert III of Scotland (c. 1337–1406), in 1404 Fleming was appointed guardian to the king's son and heir, the future James I (1394–1437). He would prove successful in this role, though at great cost: while traveling with his ward through Lothian in 1406, Fleming and his party were attacked by a larger force under James Douglas of Balvenie (1371–1443), later Earl of Douglas. Fleming was killed; the prince escaped, though only to be captured a month later by English pirates and spend the next eighteen years in exile.[145]

The details of the arrangement between the two parties to the land transfer are guaranteed by a set of witnesses, whose names are listed in the charter; the authenticity of the charter as a document, however, is guaranteed by its two well-preserved pendent seals. The first of these is the seal of Euphemia and features three coats of arms: Euphemia's own arms as Countess of Ross (gules three lions rampant argent within a double tressure flory-counter-flory of the same); the arms of her first husband, the crusader Walter Leslie (d. 1382), (azure on a bend ermine three buckles gules); and the arms of her second husband, Alexander Stewart (c. 1343–c. 1405), Earl of Buchan, better known as the Wolf of Badenoch (azure three garbs or). The second seal is that of Robert Stewart (c. 1340–1420), brother of the aforementioned Alexander—they were sons of Robert II of Scotland (1316–1390) and younger brothers of Robert III—and one of the most powerful Scottish noblemen of his day. Robert Stewart would later become Duke of Albany, but at the time of this charter he was Earl of Fife, and it is his arms as such that feature on the seal (or a fess chequy argent and azure of three rows a lion rampant gules). To complicate matters, however, Robert Stewart's seal is not used in his own name, but rather in the name of Alexander Leslie (d. 1402), Euphemia's son by her first marriage and, therefore, Robert Stewart's step-nephew. Leslie, as is explained in the text of the charter, did not have his own seal with him. It is perhaps ironic that Robert Stewart's seal appears on a charter transferring land to David Fleming given that they were

destined to become bitter enemies—Fleming as the guardian of the future James I; Robert Stewart, who had designs of his own on the throne, as a suspected plotter against the life of the young prince, his own nephew. Such were the convolutions of Scottish politics at the time.

64 Pope Boniface IX (d. 1404). *Papal Bull of Indulgence Addressed to the Faithful in the Diocese of Salzburg.* Rome, 1400.

In later medieval Catholicism, an indulgence was a means of reducing the temporal punishment experienced by a soul in Purgatory after death, obtained after the completion of certain pious works, or in exchange for a donation that would benefit the church and its mission on earth. This papal bull (so-called for the lead seal hanging from the document, known in Latin as a *bulla*) granted five years indulgence to those who assisted with the preservation and conservation of the parish church of St Stephen the Protomartyr (c. 5–c. 34) in the village of Krumbach, Austria, which was at that time in the Diocese of Salzburg. The indulgence could be obtained either by lending a 'helping hand', as the document states, suggesting actual physical labour, or by giving alms to assist in the restoration of the parish fabric. It is probably no coincidence that a tower was being added to St Stephen's in the very year that this indulgence was granted. This fair copy of the bull was transcribed by the *grossator* (or papal copyist) Gerlacus, whose autograph appears at the bottom of the *plica* (or fold) on the right-hand side. He would have received the text from Antonio Panciera (d. 1431), papal *abbreviator*, whose name appears above Gerlacus', though by his pseudonym, 'A. de Portugruaro'. Panciera was active in the papal curia from 1390 to 1402, and as *abbreviator* would have been responsible for drawing up the initial text of the bull before turning it over for copying.[146] By 1400, Panciera was also serving as secretary to Pope Boniface IX. While the majority of the indulgence is written in a fine papal chancery minuscule hand, the introductory protocol is inscribed in a gothic majuscule, perhaps by a calligrapher. Hidden beneath the *plica*, or fold, on the left is the signature of S. de Aquila—that is, Stefano Massi de Aquila (fl. 1380–1407)—who at various times in his career at the papal court served as calligrapher and *scriptor* (or scribe). He also worked as *taxator*, or the scribe responsible for setting taxes on papal documents. This is likely to be the capacity in which he appears here, since the Roman numerals 'x x', indicating the amount of tax to be paid, appear above his name in their expected position.[147] As with most papal bulls, the document is ruled in dry point, and pricking is evident on the vertical edges of the

document. The leaden seal, attached by red and yellow silk threads, features the Pope's name on the obverse side, with the image of Saints Peter and Paul on the reverse. In this one document, therefore, is a brief lesson in medieval diplomatics, indicating the number of people and items involved in ensuring the validity of papal communication, which was subject to forgery at this time, sometimes with disastrous consequences.

MEDIEVALISM

The nineteenth century saw a revival in the medieval aesthetic that expressed itself not only in literature, visual art, and architecture, but also in the so-called 'minor arts' of stained glass, calligraphy, and book production, including paper making, book illustration, printing, and binding. While the movement romantically harkened back to the pre-Modern era, it did so with an eye to the future, attempting to reintegrate the craft and artistry of the Middle Ages into a post-industrialized world that seemed to care more for efficiency than for beauty. Troubadours, knights, ladies, and monks featured prominently in this revival, 'a fantasy space with real lines of connection to the human spirit and imagination'.[148] As historian Leslie Workman (1927–2001) put it, 'medievalism ... is the Middle Ages in the contemplation of contemporary society'.[149] For many craftsmen of the period, medievalism entailed a rejection of the utilitarianism that had come to dominate so much of Victorian capitalist society, critiqued by authors such as Charles Dickens (1812–1870) and George Eliot (1819–1880). Indeed, several of its chief exponents in the book arts, including William Morris (1834–1896) and other members of the Arts and Crafts Movement, were political socialists who viewed contemporary print with contempt, evidence of the moral decline of their societies in general. The new yellow-back novels, commonly found in any railway station, with their cheap paper, thin inks, and lurid cover art stood in stark contrast to their idealized impression of the medieval manuscript tradition. Books, it was felt, should raise the moral fibre, not lower it even further. The irony, of course, was that the expense that went into the production of many of these deluxe volumes generally put them well beyond the reach of the very classes they most hoped to elevate.

65 *Antiphonarium and Breviarium.* Florence? 15th century, with 19th-century additions.

This massive antiphonal owes its size to its function within the celebration of the monastic or cathedral liturgy. Bound in near-contemporaneous, thick oak boards (probably not the originals), the scanty remains of the leather covering are still visible, with the boards' edges protected by fiercely ragged metal pieces that have done damage to more than one librarian over the years. Two of the original four bosses remain, as does evidence of clasps. If the binding is interesting, the interior leaves are even more so, and not simply owing to the beauty of the Gregorian chant notation and of the Gothic liturgical script finely inscribed on the pages. In the course of any given month, all of the 150 Psalms would be chanted during the singing of the eight offices that punctuated the liturgical day, beginning with Matins and ending with Compline. While the texts of the Psalms themselves would be committed to memory relatively quickly (given the frequency with which they were repeated in the course of the year), the antiphons that introduced them would not. The reason for this was that antiphons varied from day to day and liturgical season to liturgical season. The solution was to produce a large volume, such as this one, around which several cantors could stand and together sing the antiphons proper to any given day, rather than issuing several smaller books for choral use. In this case, the antiphons cover the period from the first Sunday in Lent until the fifth Sunday after Easter. It should be borne in mind that vowed religious communities often had slightly different liturgies from one another, or from the general Roman Rite, and the antiphonal selections varied accordingly. Based on the antiphons found herein, it would seem highly likely that this book was used by a Franciscan community for several centuries.[150]

The warm, round, gothic script in which the texts are transcribed is typical of liturgical books found in southern Europe, but with certain paleographic features characteristic of northern Italian scribes. The great curiosity of this manuscript, which has caused some to consider it a work of art, while others have dismissed it as a work of vandalism, is its decoration. The originally restrained, dignified, fifteenth-century Lombardic initials have, in most places, been obliterated, painted over in a Rococo style with gilt acanthus leaves framing initials now inhabited by such Florentine musicians as Francesco Landini (c. 1325–1397), Andrea de' Servi (d. 1415), Lorenzo Masi (d. 1372/1373), Gherardello da Firenze (c. 1320–1362/1363), Niccolò da Perugia (fl. second half of the fourteenth century), Vincenzo da Rimini (fl. middle of the fourteenth century), and Antonio 'Zacara' da Teramo (d. c. 1415). One initial includes a tiny copy of the *Adoration of the*

Nc i noct

bis et dom

nab⁹ dicet

℣ Angelis suis d̄.
Dominica p̄ma
in quadragesīa
ad matutinū.

ag. Invitat

aniz nr̄m

Quia p̄o

ōnī nr̄ glatūb

Magi by Gentile de Fabriano (c. 1370–1427) while another features the *Madonna in Adoration* by Fra Filippo Lippi (c. 1406–1469). Two others appear to be copied from frescoes by Benozzo Gozzoli in the Riccardi Palace, while several are similar in style to those found in the Squarcialupi Codex of the early fifteenth century. In almost every case where an initial has been redecorated, the exuberant flourishes actually obscure the accompanying text and music, rendering the beginning of many antiphons useless to those who had not committed them to memory. It is uncertain exactly when these changes occurred, or how many hands were involved. More than a generation of curious researchers have now turned their attentions to the book, attempting to explain the possible reasons for the alterations. Were they intended to ingratiate one of the manuscript's owners with powerful members of Florentine society? Did the manuscript fall out of regular liturgical use at some point in its history and become a practice vehicle for aspiring illuminators? Scholars continue to struggle with this intriguing volume, while the public, for completely different reasons, are simply struck by its anachronistic elegance.[151] Spectrographic analysis has now definitively confirmed that these images appeared in the nineteenth century, when a romantic obsession with all things medieval was sweeping the newly industrialized Europe.[152] The only question that remains is, why?

66 *Book Casket.* Southern France or Spain? c. 1500; A. M. Doret (fl. 1922), A. Spear (fl. 1922), and A. Scott Carter (1881–1968). *Presentation Casket.* Toronto, 1922.

In the Middle Ages, book caskets were effectively strong boxes aimed at the protection of the volumes enclosed within them. Also known as 'Bible-caskets' and 'Missal-caskets', it was generally more valuable, often illuminated manuscripts that were safeguarded inside, but not exclusively so. There are also instances of undecorated religious texts being so housed, based on the significance or even totemic value placed on the item by the owner. In either case, the cost of the production of something like this iron book casket from late fifteenth-century Spain or France had to be at least commensurate with what would eventually lie within it. Coffers of this size and weight also suggest something about the secure portability of books from place to place, as evidenced by their depiction in Renaissance paintings. One example is the anonymous 'Rest on the Flight into Egypt', a product of the Antwerp School from the 1530s in which the Virgin and Child sit next to a partially opened casket in which a book is visible towards the back.[153] The decoration of the Fisher's coffer is limited to its intricate wrought-

iron filigree pattern laid over a simple wooden box. Similar caskets from the same period are often decorated inside and out with scenes from the Scriptures or with Classical motifs.

More than four hundred years separate this late medieval iron book casket from the one designed by Alexander Scott Carter and executed by A. M. Doret and A. Spear to house an illuminated manuscript, also made by Carter, marking the death of the Canadian retail magnate Sir John Craig Eaton (1876–1922). The medieval-revival presentation casket is made of silver and leather with three jewelled bosses on top of a domed lid, and bears the inscription 'In memory of Sir John Craig Eaton, Knight, late President of the T. Eaton Company Limited, Toronto and Winnipeg, who died the thirtieth day of March, Anno Domini MCMXXII R.I.P.', written in black Gothic script on a silver band around the base of the lid. It also features two silver handles, the Eaton family's coat of arms, and the embossed and painted allegorical figures of virtues and muses on the lower part of the casket. The interior is lined in red velvet with gold piping. The manuscript contained within, which was given to Lady Eaton (1879–1970), is a *tour de force* of Canadian medievalism. Its treasure binding is composed of black velvet over wooden boards with lacquered silver and gems on the upper cover, four silver bosses on the lower cover, and green moiré doublures on the inside. The embossed and painted coat of arms of Sir John Craig Eaton features prominently.

Carter, who was a member of the Royal Institute of British Architects, immigrated to Toronto from Britain in 1912 and quickly became associated with the decorative and heraldic arts in the city. He had studied decoration under Sir William Blake Richmond (1842–1921) of the Royal Academy, who had been intimately associated with the Arts and Crafts Movement at the end of the nineteenth century. Among Carter's many Canadian commissions were the design and execution of the coats of arms of the international universities that adorn the north and south walls of the Great Hall of Hart House (c. 1920); the interior decoration of the Lady Chapel (1927) and the reredos (c. 1940–1941) of St Thomas's Church, Huron Street, Toronto; and the coat of arms for the new Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto (1953). Included among his patrons were Canadian worthies J. P. Bickell (1884–1951), Lady Eaton, Sir Joseph Flavelle (1858–1939), Gerald Larkin (1885–1961), the Right Hon. Vincent Massey (1887–1967), Sir Vincent Meredith (1850–1929), Sir Edmund Walker (1848–1924), Sir Frederick Williams-Taylor (1863–1945), and E. R. Wood (1866–1941). Examples of his works may also be found in the collections of Queen Elizabeth II, the Duke of Devonshire, the National Gallery of Canada, the Royal Ontario Museum, and the Art Gallery of Ontario.[154]

67 ***Seder mah she-omrim ḳodem Birkat ha-Mazon … ha-kol ketivat yad mamash … nikhtav bi-defus Amśterdam …*** **Fürth, 1737 or 1738.**

This small Hebrew manuscript, the title of which may be translated as *The Order of What Is Said* [i.e., *The Prayers Said*] *before the Blessing after Meals … All Handwritten in Amsterdam Type …*, may be considered a precursor to Medievalism. While Jews had wholeheartedly adopted the printing press almost from the moment of its invention, they did not abandon the manuscript tradition. To this day, Torah scrolls, Esther scrolls, and other ritual texts are copied by hand by professional scribes. But scribes also produced other works, and in the eighteenth century, especially in German-speaking lands, wealthy Jews often had a particular interest in illuminated manuscripts for personal use; this manuscript is one such case. The elaborate title page says that it was written in Fiyorda in 498—that is to say, in Fürth, Germany, in 1737 or 1738—and that it was handwritten in the Amsterdam letter-type. By the end of the seventeenth century, the Hebrew printing of Amsterdam was considered the best to be found anywhere, so much so that Hebrew printers in other areas attempted to attract buyers by proclaiming that their books were printed in Amsterdam type (with the word 'type' in very small letters).[155] Thus, this manuscript is an interesting blend of manuscript and print cultures.

The manuscript comprises twenty-three leaves containing various blessings, such as a grace to be said after meals, prayers to be said before sleep and travel, and a blessing of the new moon. It is enlivened by beautiful colour illuminations. The title page depicts Moses and Aaron beneath two lions. The initial word of Psalm 137 ('By the rivers of Babylon'), which refers to life in the Diaspora, is the belly of a two-headed eagle with a crown; the eagle is probably meant to symbolize exile in Germany, where the scribe is working. Other illustrations are likewise related to the text; the prayer for someone departing on a voyage, for example, has an illustration of a man sitting on a horse.[156]

68 Ernesto Sprega (1829–1911). *Collection of Ten Illuminated Medieval-Revival Miniatures.* Vienna or Monaco, 1890–1900.

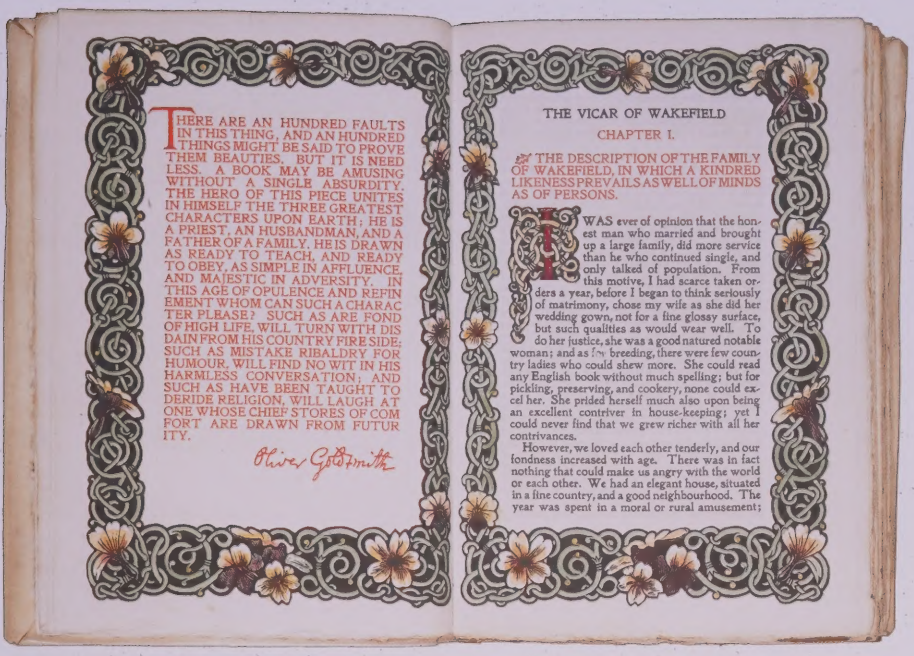
The production and sale of medieval-inspired miniatures such as these examples flourished at the end of the Victorian era as the Arts and Crafts Movement looked backwards to the Middle Ages for its inspiration. While most were honestly created in homage to Europe's medieval past, others were most certainly forgeries, happily acquired by unwitting buyers as souvenirs of 'the Grand Tour' and by institutions inspired by the gothic revival of the era to supplement their antiquarian collections. Most famous among the producers of such items was the so-called 'Spanish Forger', who made a lucrative living at this very time by producing imita-

tion medieval miniatures and selling them as authentic.[157] It is indeed ironic that these forgeries have, in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, become an area of collection in their own right. The Fisher's particularly fine miniatures can almost certainly be attributed to Ernesto Sprega, one of the restorers of the frescoes by Raphael (1483–1520) in the Vatican.[158] The borders and the frames imitate those found in sumptuous late-fifteenth-century Italian manuscript books, and especially echo those gracing the pages of the renowned Borso d'Este Bible (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS 422-3), a deluxe facsimile of which may also be found in the Fisher's holdings. In 1859, this enormous two-volume Bible was taken by Francis V (1819–1875), Duke of Modena, from his library at Modena when he went into exile in Vienna, and would still have been there when these miniatures were executed. The Biblical scenes depicted are: God showing Jeremiah two baskets of figs before the Temple (Jeremiah 24); Isaiah prophesying the judgment and punishment of Jerusalem (Isaiah 2); Christ sending the Apostles to proclaim the Kingdom of God and heal the sick (Luke 9); Christ rejecting the tribute money (Matthew 22); Christ with the little children (Matthew 19, Mark 10, Luke 18); the triumphal entry into Jerusalem (Matthew 21, Mark 11, Luke 19, John 12); the betrayal of Christ, with Peter cutting off Malchus' ear (Matthew 26, Mark 14, Luke 22, John 18); the Flagellation of Christ (John 19); the Descent from the Cross (John 19); and Christ with Doubting Thomas (John 20).

Sprega certainly profited from nineteenth-century medievalism. His copies of the illuminated initials that originally adorned the choir books illustrated by the Sienese artist Liberale da Verona (c. 1445–1529), for example, were reproduced to great acclaim in 1862 by the Arundel Society. Other illuminations by him, however, were passed off by vendors as originals.[159] By 1870, Sprega was living in Monaco, where from 1883 to 1889 he was director of the factory that made the famous Monégasque terracottas that adorn many of the buildings in the Principality. He was also responsible for numerous frescoes that may be found in the Palatine Chapel and in the private apartments of the Prince's Palace.

69 Oliver Goldsmith (1728–1774). *The Vicar of Wakefield: A Tale Supposed to Be Written by Himself* ... Chiswick: The Caradoc Press, 1903.

Caradoc was a fine, private press that operated for only a single decade, 1899–1909, during which it issued twenty titles, as well as two volumes of the Arts and Crafts journal *The Acorn*. The proprietors, Harry George Webb (1862–1936), a landscape and architectural painter and etcher, and his wife Hesba Dora Webb (1866–1939), née Smith, were strongly influenced by William Morris (1834–1896),


THERE ARE AN HUNDRED FAULTS IN THIS THING, AND AN HUNDRED THINGS MIGHT BE SAID TO PROVE THEM BEAUTIES. BUT IT IS NEEDLESS. A BOOK MAY BE AMUSING WITHOUT A SINGLE ABSURDITY. THE HERO OF THIS PIECE UNITES IN HIMSELF THE THREE GREATEST CHARACTERS UPON EARTH; HE IS A PRIEST, AN HUSBANDMAN, AND A FATHER OF A FAMILY. HE IS DRAWN AS READY TO TEACH, AND READY TO OBEY, AS SIMPLE IN AFFLUENCE, AND MAJESTIC IN ADVERSITY. IN THIS AGE OF OPULENCE AND REFINEMENT WHOM CAN SUCH A CHARACTER PLEASE? SUCH AS ARE FOND OF HIGH LIFE, WILL TURN WITH DISDAIN FROM HIS COUNTRY FIRESIDE; SUCH AS MISTAKE RIBALDRY FOR HUMOUR, WILL FIND NO WIT IN HIS HARMLESS CONVERSATION; AND SUCH AS HAVE BEEN TAUGHT TO DERIDE RELIGION, WILL LAUGH AT ONE WHOSE CHIEF STORES OF COMFORT ARE DRAWN FROM FUTURITY.

Oliver Goldsmith

THE VICAR OF WAKEFIELD

CHAPTER I.

OF THE DESCRIPTION OF THE FAMILY OF WAKEFIELD, IN WHICH A KINDRED LIKENESS PREVAILS AS WELL OF MINDS AS OF PERSONS.

I WAS ever of opinion that the honest man who married and brought up a large family, did more service than he who continued single, and only talked of population. From this motive, I had scarce taken orders a year, before I began to think seriously of matrimony, chose my wife as she did her wedding gown, not for a fine glossy surface, but such qualities as would wear well. To do her justice, she was a good natured notable woman; and as for breeding, there were few country ladies who could shew more. She could read any English book without much spelling; but for pickling, preserving, and cookery, none could excel her. She prided herself much also upon being an excellent contriver in house-keeping; yet I could never find that we grew richer with all her contrivances.

However, we loved each other tenderly, and our fondness increased with age. There was in fact nothing that could make us angry with the world or each other. We had an elegant house, situated in a fine country, and a good neighbourhood. The year was spent in a moral or rural amusement;

as is evidenced in this publication of *The Vicar of Wakefield.* Medieval-inspired, hand-coloured woodcut initials and intricate borders adorn the laid rag-paper pages, bound together in ivory-coloured limp vellum, a style thoroughly reminiscent of the publications issued by the Kelmscott Press in the last decade of the nineteenth century. In contradistinction to Kelmscott, however, books produced by Caradoc were generally more affordable to ordinary collectors, 'the desire [being] to issue a good work at a moderate price', as subscribers were informed. The present volume, for example, sold for only thirty shillings (or one and a half pounds) when first published. The Webbs designed and cut their own woodblocks and the paper was sourced from the same mill used by Morris himself.[160] Like most of their publications, *The Vicar of Wakefield* also appeared in a very limited edition, in this case fourteen copies, printed on vellum, which sold for ten guineas (or ten and a half pounds) each.

70 Alfred Tennyson (1802–1892). *Morte d'Arthur: A Poem.* London: Chatto & Windus, 1912.

Tennyson's poetry comes to life in this richly decorated medieval vision through the efforts of book artist Alberto Sangorski (1862–1932). Sangorski, who worked for his younger brother Francis (1875–1912) at the famous English bookbinding

All day long the noise of battle rolled
Among the mountains by the winter sea;
Until King Arthur's table, man by man,
Had fallen in Lyonnesse about their Lord,
King Arthur: then because his wound
was deep
The bold Sir Bedivere uprisèd him,
Sir Bedivere, the last of all his knights,
And bore him to a chapel nigh the field,
A broken chancel with a broken cross,
That stood on a dark strait of barren land.
On one side lay the Ocean and on one
Lay a great water, and the moon was full.

firm, Sangorski and Sutcliffe, had discovered his talent for calligraphy relatively late in life. In this volume, Sangorski transcribed and illuminated the text of Tennyson's poem 'in Missal style' (as it was described in contemporary advertisements); it was then masterfully printed on ivory-coloured, French-folded 'Japanese vellum' by the Graphic Engraving Company for Chatto & Windus. Tennyson had originally penned the verses in around 1835, using the third to fifth chapters of the twenty-first book of Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur* as his inspiration. Victorian interest in illumination was rekindled by the leading art critic of the era, John Ruskin (1819–1900), who in 1855 commented to Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806–1861) that 'among various works I have in hand at present, one is the endeavour to revive the art of illumination'.[161] Following Ruskin's inspiration, this volume overflows with medieval-style illumination, rubrication, decorated and inhabited initials, heraldic devices, botanical designs, acanthus leaves, miniatures, and border illustrations. It is a triumph of long-nineteenth-century medievalism and initially sold for an economical six shillings.

71 William Wordsworth (1770–1850). *Childhood and Age*. London, 1916.

This manuscript on vellum, designed, transcribed, and illuminated by Alberto Sangorski (1862–1932), comprises only a few unconnected stanzas from Wordsworth's longer poem, 'Ode on Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood', beginning with the words 'our birth is but a sleep and forgetting'. Like his contemporary Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832), Wordsworth was an exponent of nine-

teenth-century medievalism, enunciated in such works as 'Hart-Leap Well' and 'The Prelude'. While the tone of this particular poem (to which Sangorski has supplied the title 'Childhood and Age') is certainly romantic in character, a *memento mori* of sorts, the medieval character is not strongly evident in the content itself. The goatskin binding is a study in restrained elegance—red-morocco, gilt-tooled doublure margins framing ivory, watered-silk insets—and was likely executed by the Riviere & Sons of London. The entire volume is interleaved with white satin for the protection of the text and gilded miniatures. Its decoration represents a high point of late English medievalism. The copy of *Morte d'Arthur* designed by Sangorski that is included in this exhibition (no. 70 in this catalogue) began as a manuscript and was subsequently printed for public consumption; in the case of *Childhood and Age*, however, Sangorski definitively states in the colophon that 'this manuscript will not be duplicated'; it is, therefore, as unique as any manuscript produced during the medieval period itself.

Appendix: European and Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Codices in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library (Listed by Date of Creation, Approximately to the End of the Fifteenth Century)

Call Number	Author and Title	Place and Date	Accession Year
friedberg MSS 3-002	Yehudai ben Naḥman *Sefer Halakhot pesuḳot*	Babylonia? 9th or 10th century	1996
friedberg MSS 9-005	*Ḥamishah ḥumshe Torah*	Vol. 1: Egypt? mid-10th to 11th century; vol. 2: Spain, 1188	
friedberg MSS 9-003	*Ḳinot*	Place of creation unknown, 970–1070	1996
friedberg MSS 9-001	*Mishnah*	Babylonia, 11th century	1996
friedberg MSS 9-002	*Talmud masekhet Shabbat*	North Africa? 11th century	1996
MSS 05316	*Greek Gospel Lectionary*	Constantinople? c. 1050	2011
MSS 01244	*The Four Gospels in Greek: Codex Torontonensis*	Constantinople? c. 1070	1901
MSS 05314	Pseudo-Bede *Homeliae de tempore, de sanctis, et de communi sanctorum*	Southern France (or Italy)? 1150–1200	2005
MSS 05321	Hugh of Fouilloy *De claustro animae*	France? c. 1153	2011
MSS 03369	Hugh of Saint Victor *In Salomonis Ecclesiasten homiliae*	Spain, 1175–1200	2015
MSS 04239	*Gospel Lectionary (Cistercian Use)*	Spain? 1185–1190	2012
friedberg MSS 3-015	*Siddur*	Ashkenaz, late 12th century	1996
friedberg MSS 3-017	le-Yonah ibn G'anaḥ *Be 'ur ḳadmon le-Sefer ha-Riḳmah*	Place of creation unknown, 13th century	1996

friedberg MSS 5-004	*Ketuvim*	Spain, 13th century	1996
friedberg MSS 5-006	Rashi *Perush Nevi'im u-Khetuvim*	Ashkenaz, 13th century	1996
friedberg MSS 5-010	David Kimhi *Sefer ha-Shorashim*	North Africa or Spain, 13th century	1996
friedberg MSS 5-012	Zidkiyahu figlio di Abraham ha-Rofè. *Shibole ha-leḳeṭ*	Italy, 13th century	1996
MSS 04404	William of Wycombe *Vita venerabilis Roberti Herefordensis episcopi*	Llantony Secunda? c. 1200	1966
MSS 04008	*Liber quatuor evangelistarum*	Avignon? c. 1220	1901
MSS 04240	*Biblia Latina*	Oxford? c. 1230	2014
MSS 03249	Pope Gregory I *Dialogi beati Gregorii papae*	Paris? c. 1240	2011
MSS 01078	*Franciscan Breviary for Day Offices*	Paris? c. 1250	2010
MSS 02999	*Psalter*	Arras? 1250–1260	2022
MSS 01076	Thomas Brito *Sermones de tempore, de epistolis, de evangeliis, et de communi sanctorum*	Northern France? 1250–1300	2007
MSS 01125	Peter Lombard *Sententiarum libri IV*	Paris? late 13th century	1972
friedberg MSS 5-002	*Masorah*	Spain, c. 1300	1996
friedberg MSS 5-016	*Maḥazor le-shabatot meyuḥadot, le-Furim ule-Tish'ah be-Av*	Ashkenaz, c. 1300	1996
friedberg MSS 5-005	Rashi *P. Rashi 'al ha-Torah*	Iberia, c. 1300	1996
friedberg MSS 3-016	*Maḥazor*	Ashkenaz, early 14th century	1996
MSS 01124	*Le coutumier de Normandie*	France, early 14th century	1975

friedberg MSS 3-003	Moses ben Jacob of Coucy *Sefer Mitsvot gadol*	Ashkenaz or Italy, 14th century	1996
friedberg MSS 3-013	Eleazar ben Judah of Worms *Moreh Ḥaṭa'im*	Italy, 14th century	1996
friedberg MSS 3-014	*Siddur*	Ashkenaz, 14th century	1996
friedberg MSS 3-018	*Yalḳuṭ midrashim ʿa.ha-T.*	Yemen, 14th century	1998
friedberg MSS 5-014	Jacob ben Asher *Ṭur Oraḥ ḥayim*	Iberia, 14th century	1996
friedberg MSS 5-017	*Maḥazor le-Sukot*	Ashkenaz or Central Europe, 14th century	1996
friedberg MSS 5-018	*Seder Seliḥot*	Ashkenaz, 14th century	1996
MSS 05003	*Natural Philosophy Fragments*	Italy? 14th century?	1998
MSS 06900	Joannes Andreae *Canon Law Commentary*	France? 14th century	2006
MSS 01027	Pseudo-Aristotle *Secret des secrez*	Northern France, 1300–1320	2018
MSS 04246	Stephen of Bourbon *Liber pantheon*	Southern France or Spain, 1300–1330	2016
friedberg MSS 5-001	*Torah, Nevi'im, Ketuvim*	Toledo, 1307	1996
MSS 01053	*Confirmatio chartarum, charta de foresta, et alia statuta regum Henrici III, Edwardi I, et Edwardi II*	England, c. 1316–c. 1422	1964
MSS 04354	*Missale Romanum*	Bologna or Padua? c. 1325	2016
MSS 01079	*Processional*	Poissy, 1330–1350, with additions 1500–1520	2021
MSS 07012	Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun *Roman de la rose*	Paris? c. 1375	2017

MSS 04069	Ramon Llull *Liber de uenatione substantiae, accidentis, et compositi*	Padua or Venice? 1375–1425	2018
MSS 01111	*Officia beatae Mariae virginis et defunctorum*	France? late 14th century	1974
friedberg MSS 3-001	*Torah, Ḥamesh megilot, Haftarot*	Ashkenaz or Central Europe, 15th century	1996
friedberg MSS 3-004	Samuel ben Aaron Schlettstadt *Ḳitsur Sefer ha-Mordekhai*	Italy? 15th century	1996
friedberg MSS 3-010	Aaron ben Jacob ha-Kohen of Lunel *Orḥot ḥayim*	Spain? 15th century	1996
friedberg MSS 3-012	Meir ben Baruch of Rothenburg *She'elot u-teshuvot*	Iberia? 15th century	1996
friedberg MSS 5-007	David Kimhi *Perush ʿal Sefer Yeḥezḳel*	Iberia? 15th century	1996
friedberg MSS 5-013	Asher ben Jehiel *Piskẹ Bava metsi'a leha-Rosh zatsal*	Iberia? 15th century	1996
MSS 03024	*Horae: Dutch Book of Hours*	Limburg? 15th century	1964
MSS 03245	*Horae*	Arras? 15th century	1975
MSS 03247	*Treatises on Geometry and Astronomy*	Italy, 15th century?	1998
MSS 09700	*Antiphonarium and Breviarium*	Florence? 15th century, with 19th-century additions	1964
MSS gen 61.016	Ambrose *De virginibus*	Place of creation unknown, 15th century	2019
friedberg MSS 5-015	*Sefer ha-Zohar*	Crete, 1400–1410	1996
MSS 09264	Geremia da Montagnone *Compendium moralium notabillium*	Padua or Vicenza? 1400–1435	2020

MSS 04400	Richard of Middleton *In quartum sententiarum Petri Lombardi commentarius*	Lombardy? 1400–1450, with additions after 1475	2008
MSS 05018	Jacobus de Voragine *Sermones dominicales per totum annum*	France, 1407	2008
MSS 05242	Albertus de Saxonia *Questiones in Aristotelis De caelo et mundo*	Siena, 1407	1973
MSS 01199	*Miscellany of Texts for the Order of Friars Minor*	Italy, c. 1410	2004
MSS 09295	*Graduale Romanum*	Cologne? c. 1420	2015
MSS 01123	*Offitium beate uirginis Marie secundum consuetudinem fratrum ordinis praedicatorum*	Naples or Taranto? after 1423	1998
MSS 01020	*Late Medieval Miscellany*	Italy, 1425–1450	2010
MSS 01237	Johannes Genesius Quaglia de Parma *De conflictu viciorum*	Northern Italy? 1425–1450	2010
friedberg MSS 5-020	Levi ben Gershom *Be'ur ha-Ralbag la-Be'ur ha-ḳatsar shel Ibn Rushd la-ḳetavim shel Aristo*	Southern Italy? 1435–1436	1998
friedberg MSS 5-003	*Torah*	Place of creation unknown, 1448	1996
MSS 00999	*Horae*	France? c. 1450	1952
MSS 04078	Saint Jerome *Vita Pauli prime heremite*	Northern Italy, 1450–1475	2022
MSS 03043	Andrea Fiocchi *De Romanorum magistratibus*	Italy, after 1450	1901
MSS 01019	Astronomical miscellany	Bavaria? 1459?	2010
friedberg MSS 5-011	Mordecai ben Hillel, ha-Kohen. *Sefer Mordekhai ha-shalem*	Askenaz, 1459	1996

MSS 01114	*Breviarium Romanum*	Central Italy, 1455–1472	1995
MSS 03265	Thomas à Kempis *Dell'immitatione di Cristo*	Venice? 1460–1480	2013
MSS 03402	Plutarch *Q. Sertorii vita*	Florence, 1461–1464	2021
MSS 04422	*Regulations of the Chancery of Pope Paul II*	Italy or Southern France? 1467, with additions c 1470	2022
MSS 03018	*Horae*	Paris? c. 1470	2015
MSS 05041	Christine de Pizan *Le livre de paix*	Northern France, c. 1470	2019
MSS 05288	Saint Augustine of Hippo *De ciuitate Dei ad Marcellinum contra paganos*	Utrecht? c. 1470	1998
MSS 03020	Marcus Tullius Cicero *De officiis*	Paris? not before 1471, probably 1481–1491	2019
MSS 05040	*Missale Romanum*	Rodez? c. 1475	2014
MSS 01049	Pseudo-Hugh of Saint-Cher *De sacramento altaris et valore missarum*	France? 1475–1500	2008
MSS 09701	*Matins Lectionary and Homiliary*	Southern Germany, 1475–1500	2006
MSS 04079	Persius *Satyrae*	Cortona? not before 1481, probably 1486–1494	2022
MSS 05050	Lorenzo Valla *Elegantiae*	Italy, 1485	2019
MSS 01026	Clément Prinsault *Traité de blason*	Northern France, c. 1492	2018
friedberg MSS 5-021	Moses Maimonides *Sefer hafla'ah*	Yemen, 1498	2003
MSS 01031	*Book of Hours*	Rhineland, late 15th century	2019

MSS 05030	*Psalmi penitentiali di David tradocti in lingua fiorentina et commentati per Hieronymo Benivieni*	Florence, late 15th century	1967
MSS 01136	Jean Marot et al. *Recueil de rondeaux*	France, 1500–1515	2019
MSS 04120	Michael Ricius *De regibus Hispaniae, Siciliae*	Rome, 1503	1901

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NOTES

1 Manguel, *The Library at Night*, 107.

2 University of Toronto Archives and Records Management Services, A1972-0050/017 (02).

3 *Condensed Catalogue*, no. 4.

4 Blackburn, *Evolution of the Heart*, 59. Chief Librarian Blackburn shows the inaccuracy of the oral tradition, still persisting at the University of Toronto today, that the collection as it existed before the fire was mediocre.

5 Averill, *Evolution of the Heart*, 5.

6 Firth and Fahey, 'Scadding, Henry'.

7 Goodspeed, 'The Toronto Gospels', 269.

8 Loudon, *Annual Report of the Presiden*t, 5 and 15.

9 Quinn, 'Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies', 589.

10 Quinn, 'Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies', 585.

11 Quinn, 'Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies', 591–592.

12 Faye and Bond, *Supplement to the Census*, 533.

13 Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 'A List of the Manuscripts'.

14 Miss Brown (as she is still known at the Fisher Library today) was a formidable force. Even during her retirement and subsequent marriage, she remained Miss Brown, insisting on the appellation that had been her identity throughout her life and was used with great respect (and affection) by all who worked with her.

15 For all correspondence and reports related to the transfer of materials from the Royal Ontario Museum to the University of Toronto, see University of Toronto Archives and Records Management Services, A1968-0008/004.

16 University of Toronto Archives and Records Management Services, A1968-0008/004.

17 University of Toronto Archives and Records Management Services, A1968-0008/004.

18 University of Toronto Archives and Records Management Services, A1968-0008/004.

19 Faye and Bond, *Supplement to the Census*, 533–534.

20 King, 'The Sisters', 120.

21 Boyle's assessment may be found in an unpublished paper delivered by Hartwig Mayer at the Fifth International Colloquium on Medieval Civilization (27 January 1982) and preserved in the Fisher Library's 'notes on manuscripts' file for *Die Dietsche doctrinale* (jah f John of Gaddesden); see Mayer, 'Two Fragments', 3. See also Biemans and Mayer, 'Ein neues Fragment', 63–87.

22 For details on the discovery and subsequent analysis of the pastedown, see Denoyelle, 'Un nouveau fragment'.

23 For a more detailed examination of the Friedberg manuscripts at the Fisher Library, see Walfish, 'The Friedberg Collection'.

24 The Fisher manuscript is paleographically related to a Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS grec 164, a psalter dated 1070; see Goodspeed, 'The Toronto Gospels', 269–270.

25 Deshman, 'The Four Gospels', 116.

26 Brown, *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*, 965. Brown notes that the pericope does not have any evident Johannine style and may have been inserted in the third century as an illustration of Jesus' upcoming statement, 'I pass judgment on no one' (John 8:15). The story is certainly more in keeping with Luke's general concern for women and the marginalized of society.

27 Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 509–510.

28 Goodspeed, 'The Toronto Gospels', 269.

29 Stern, 'The Hebrew Bible', 248.

30 Liver, 'Ḥamesh Megillot', 4:638.

31 For 13th-century Sephardic Bible decorations, see Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art*, 57–97.

32 The Masorah consists of marginal notations intended to indicate the proper reading and pronunciation of some words and enumerations of 'textual, syntactic, and orthographic peculiarity on the biblical text' (Stern, *The Jewish Bible*, 69).

33 Stern, 'The Hebrew Bible', 247–248.

34 De Hamel, *The Book*, 36–38.

35 Crehan, 'The Bible', 208–210.

36 De Hamel, *The Book*, 119.

37 De Hamel, *The Book*, 131.

38 It should be borne in mind that Jerome's Vulgate maintained the order of the Gospels that was common to the 'Old Latin Bible' of his day, i.e. Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark; see Tkacz, *'Labor tam utilis'*, 48. Similarly, nearly all of the ancient Greek manuscripts of the New Testament place Acts after the Gospels, followed by the Catholic Epistles, then the Pauline Epistles, then Revelation; see Welte, 'The Problem', 118.

39 Loewe, 'The Medieval History', 147–148.

40 De Hamel, *The Book*, 114.

41 D'Avray, 'Portable *Vademecum* Books', 61.

42 See also Walfish, *'As it is Written'*, 21–22.

43 Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 9.

44 For a summary of historical developments in the production of books of hours, see Reinburg, *French Books of Hours*, 20–26.

45 Bonniwell, *A History*, 237.

46 For a full account of the history of the Hôtel-Dieu de Paris, see Coury, 'L'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris'.

47 For a description of the stylistic features used to identify the work of this artist, see Spencer, 'L'Horloge de Sapience', 292–295. There is a particularly striking parallel between the Annunciation miniature in the Viefuille Hours, and especially its depiction of the Archangel Gabriel, and an Annunciation miniature in a book of hours in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, that has also been attributed to the Master of Jean Rolin II (W.251); a description of the Walters manuscript and a reproduction of its Annunciation miniature can be found in Plummer and Clark, *The Last Flowering*, no. 82, with plate.

48 Elliot and Jacobs, 'Dating a Fifteenth-Century Franciscan Breviary', 13.

49 For dragons in medieval synagogue and manuscript decorations, see Rodov, 'Dragons', 63–84; for manuscripts, see especially 70–73.

50 For these methods, see Beit-Arie, *Hebrew Codicology*, 87–89.

51 Beit-Arie, *Hebrew Codicology*, plates 22 and 23.

52 Moorman, *Medieval Franciscan Houses*, 212.

53 Dyer, 'The Medieval Mass'.

54 See, for example, Thayer, 'The Medieval Sermon'.

55 Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance', 60.

56 Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance', 184 n. 1 provides extensive bibliography.

57 Barré, *Les homéliaires carolingiens*, 33–42.

58 Barré, *Les homéliaires carolingiens*, 29.

59 Whitehead, 'Making a Cloister'.

60 Kwakkel, *The European Book*, 17.

61 Taylor, *The Didascalicon*, 137.

62 Meuvaert, 'The Enigma', 335.

63 Shailor, *The Medieval Book*, 16.

64 Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 16.

65 Wiel, *The Story of Verona*, 133.

66 'SDBM_29724'.

67 Marcus, 'Hasidei Ashkenaz Private Penitentials'.

68 Sirat, *Hebrew Manuscripts*, 129.

69 For Pope's own detailed description of the manuscript, see Pope, *One Hundred and Twenty-Five Manuscripts*, s.v. Bergendal MS 94.

70 On Durrieu as a collector and scholar, see further Hindman and Bergeron-Foote, *Three Illuminated Manuscripts*, 3–5.

71 For the vexed question of the relationship between Adelard's translation and Campanus' version, see Heath, *The Thirteen Books*, 94–96. The Fisher manuscript describes itself in its *explicit* as including the 'geometria euclidis cum co[m]mento campani' ('the geometry of Euclid with Campanus' commentary'), but Campanus' contribution is not in fact a commentary; rather, he produced a version of the text that in some parts (the definitions, postulates, and axioms) reproduces Adelard exactly, but in others (the proofs and propositions) appears to translate a different, and better, version of the Arabic text.

72 For an overview of the preparation and properties of iron-gall ink, see Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 19–20.

73 Translation from Rudavsky, 'Gersonides'.

74 See further Rudavsky, 'Gersonides'.

75 Klein-Braslavy, *Without Any Doubt*, 183.

76 Klein-Braslavy, *Without Any Doubt*, 194; for more on Gersonides' commentaries on Averroes' commentaries on Aristotle, see Klein-Braslavy, *Without Any Doubt*, 181–219.

77 For this manuscript, see Sassoon, *Ohel Dạvid*, no. 263. For the work, its disappearance and modern publication, and the question of its attribution to Yehudai Gaon, see Brody, *The Geonim of Babylonia*, 217–223. Sassoon was a bibliophile and a descendant of one of the leaders of the Baghdad Jewish community. Some of Sassoon's manuscripts were later purchased by Albert Friedberg, who donated them to the Fisher Library in the 1990s.

78 Walfish, *'As it is Written'*, no. 12.

79 The only evidence for the manuscript's early provenance is the Sotheby's auction catalogue of 1965; see n. 81. It has been frequently alleged that Taylor, a parliamentary soldier during the Civil War with access to the Cathedral Library of Hereford, had looted its holdings to form the basis of his own antiquarian collection. More modern scholarship, however, tends away from this allegation; see Whitehead, 'Silas Taylor'.

80 Bird, *To Be Sold by Auction*, lot 51.

81 Phillipps, *Catalogue of Thirty-Nine Manuscripts*, lot 9.

82 The assizes were courts assembled periodically by specially appointed commissioners who travelled from town to town on established 'circuits'; for the development of the assizes, see Baker, *An Introduction*, 23–25.

83 Bianchini, 'Thomas Fisher MS 5288', in the Fisher Library's 'notes on manuscripts' file for *De ciuitate Dei* (MSS 05288).

84 See, for example, *Bestand J 340: Wasserzeichensammlung Piccard*, nos. 117626 and 117661.

85 Van de Putte, *Histoire de Boesinghe*, 75.

86 *Fonds Raoul Chandon de Briailles.*

87 For the dating of the surviving copies of this translation, see Gaullier-Bougassas, 'L'Alexandre en français', 1:222.

88 The presence of such a large number of miniatures in the first gathering—the rest of the manuscript included only six miniatures in total—can be inferred not only from comparison with other illustrated manuscripts of the *Roman de la rose*, which frequently include both a frontispiece and a series of nine illustrations of the Vices (who appear early in the poem), but also from the fact that, given the way in which the manuscript's leaves are ruled, the missing leaves would have had space for over 1,100 lines, whereas only 953 have actually been lost, leaving plenty of space for twelve or more miniatures.

89 King, 'The Sisters', 120.

90 Quoted in von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant*, 35.

91 Hindman and Bergeron-Foote, *An Intimate Art*, 83.

92 Hindman and Light, *Paths to Reform*, 30.

93 Hindman and Light, *Paths to Reform*, 48.

94 Von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant*, 31.

95 Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 9.

96 Von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant*, 107 and 144.

97 Tyson, *Assist Me to Proclaim*, 16–17.

98 Perry, 'The Imitation of Christ', 197.

99 Green, 'Introduction', 2.

100 Green, 'Introduction', 31.

101 Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, KBR 10366; the third copy is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 1182. There is some variation between the texts preserved in the three copies, with the one made by Christine for the Duke of Burgundy diplomatically replacing with more neutral language certain anti-Burgundian passages preserved in the other two copies; for full analysis of these textual differences, see Van Hemelryck, 'A Manuscript's Progess'.

102 A few basic details concerning this manuscript can be gleaned from the catalogue of the Caxton Celebration held in Montreal in 1877, at which it was exhibited; see *Condensed Catalogue*, 2 and Virr, 'Behold this Treasury', 14. The manuscript is described in the catalogue as being on vellum and paper and including coloured initials. The date given for it—c. 1430—is optimistic, Valla having only finished writing the *Elegantiae* in the 1440s.

103 Feeley, 'A Library in Crisis', 223.

104 Woodcock and Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry*, 13.

105 Jefferson, 'Tournaments', 90–91.

106 For a fuller account of the *devotio moderna* movement, especially as reflected in books of hours, see no. 42 in this catalogue.

107 This correlation was certainly known to Meton of Athens (fl. fifth century BCE), and may have been discovered much earlier. Meton appears briefly in Aristophanes' *Birds* (first performed in 414 BCE), where it is clear from the context that he is a contemporary figure (*Birds* 992–1020). The cycle that results from the correlation is often called the Metonic cycle, from Meton's name, or the *enneakaidekaëteris* (Greek for 'a period of nineteen years'). Meton's system was not absolutely precise, and over the course of the following three centuries it was refined by Callippus (c. 370 BCE–C. 300 BCE), Apollonius of Perga (c. 240 BCE–C. 190 BCE), and Hipparchus (c. 190 BCE–C. 120 BCE); for a full description of this development, see Nothaft, Scandalous Error, 19–20.

108 For a history of the highly complex development of the calendar over the course of the Middle Ages, especially with respect to the needs of the Christian church in Western Europe, see Nothaft, *Scandalous Error*, 42–204.

109 In addition to the manuscript of his translation of the Penitential Psalms, the Fisher also holds a small collection of autograph letters written by Bienivieni, two of which are addressed to Lucrezia de' Medici and one to her daughter Maria Salviati de' Medici (1499–1543).

110 For Benivieni's role in this unsuccessful venture, see Tomas, The Medici Women, 95.

111 The anonymous rondeau 'En vous voyant j'ay liberté perdu' ('I lost my freedom when I saw you') was particularly popular in this regard and was set to music no fewer than three times: by Thomas Crecquillon (c.1505–c. 1557), a musician active at the court of Charles V (1500–1558); by Robert Meigret (c. 1508–1568); and by Roger Pathie (c. 1505–c. 1564). Crecquillon also composed musical settings for two poems by Jean Marot found in the Fisher manuscript: 'Mort ou mercy en languissant j'atens' ('I languish and wait for death or mercy') and 'Plus que jamais nonobstant to reffus' ('More than ever despite your refusal'). Nicolas Gombert (c. 1495–c.1560), another musician at the court of Charles V, composed a setting of 'A si grand tort vous m'avez pris en hainne' ('How wrongly you took to hating me'). Johannes Prioris (c. 1460–c. 1514), who served as the chapel master of Louis XII (1462–1515) from 1503 to 1510, set to music the rondeau 'Deuil et ennuy, soucy, regret et paine' ('Sorrow and troubles, cares, regret, and pain'), the first stanza of which was also set to music by Jean Le Cocq (fl. 1540–1560). And finally, an anonymous composer provided music for the rondeau 'Pour acomplir le vouloir de mon coeur' ('To fulfil my heart's desire'). With thanks to Mary Beth Winn, State University of New York at Albany, for this information on the musical settings of the poems in the Fisher manuscript; see Winn, 'Notes on Fisher MSS 01136'.

112 The manuscript in question is London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian MS B.ii (British Library, London), which features painted initials very similar to those found in the Fisher manuscript; for Gringore's role in the production of Cotton Vespasian MS B.ii, see Baskervill, *Pierre Gringore's Pageants*, ix–x.

113 See Winn's comments in the Fisher Library's 'notes on manuscripts' file for MSS 01136.

114 Lehmann-Haupt, 'Peter Schoeffer of Gernsheim'.

115 McCurry, 'The *Decretum* of Gratian'.

116 Brunet, *Un complément du* Dictionnaire bibliographique, col. 814.

117 See, for example, Hellinga, 'William Caxton', 86 and Adam, *Vivre et imprimer*, 1:251.

118 Needham, *The Printer and the Pardoner*, 86; Hellinga, *Incunabula in Transit*, 322.

119 Dibdin, *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, 4:180.

120 Brunet, 'Histoire des livres', 288.

121 Hanrott, *Catalogue of the Splendid*, lot 2063.

122 Ashburnham, *Catalogue of the Magnificent*, lot 2304.

123 De Ricci, *English Collectors*,173.

124 Tishby, 'Hebrew Incunabula', 817, 819, 843–846.

125 Offenberg, 'The Earliest Hebrew Printed Books' and Offenberg, *'The Honeycomb's Flow'*, 12.

126 Indeed, the earliest printers attempted to make their books look like manuscripts; see Heller, 'Behold, You Are Beautiful', 40.

127 Jenkins, 'Printing on Parchment or Vellum', 32.

128 For the transition from the individual-patron model to the multiple-purchaser model and its consequences, see Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 53–55.

129 Walsh, *Philosophy & Bibliophily*, 22.

130 The opinions of both Caesar and Cicero are preserved in Suetonius' life of Terence (*Vita Terenti* 5).

131 For an overview of the development of the chained library, see Petroski, *The Book on the Shelf*, 55–73.

132 Roberts and Etherington, *Bookbinding*, 51.

133 Ellis, 'Patronage and Sponsorship of Translation', 1:102.

134 Whitaker, *An History*, 85.

135 MacNeil, *Trusting Records*, xi.

136 For the different types of medieval seal and the owners associated with them, see Cherry, 'Medieval and Post-Medieval Seals', 126–129.

137 Slavin, 'Four Medieval Charters from the Toronto Fisher Rare Book Library', in the Fisher Library's 'notes on manuscripts' file for the Mansfield Woodhouse Collection (MS Coll 00394).

138 Hardy, *Rotuli litterarum patentium*, 1:1:38.

139 Hall, *A Formula Book*, 17.

140 Dictionary of Archives Terminology *Dictionary of Archives Terminology*. 'Diplomatics'. Accessed 28 June 2022: https://dictionary.archivists.org/entry/diplomatics.html

141 Apostolou and Crumbley, 'The Tally Stick'.

142 Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 123.

143 Shenton, *The Day Parliament Burned Down*, 14–16.

144 For full details of these land transfers, see Robertson, *Illustrations*, 3:93.

145 James Douglas, however, was not finished with the Fleming family: some thirty-four years later he would also be responsible for the death of David Fleming's son Malcolm (d. 1440), whom he had killed in the aftermath of the infamous Black Dinner. For a summary of the varied fortunes of the Flemings of Biggar, see Burke, *A Genealogical History*, 611–612.

146 Miranda, 'Panciera, Antonio'.

147 Avril, 'Stephanus de Aquila', 51.

148 Fay, *Romantic Medievalism*, 12.

149 Workman and Verduin, *Medievalism in England II*, 2.

150 Piazza, 'A Study and Cantus Index', in the Fisher Library's 'notes on manuscripts' file for *Antiphonarium and Breviarium* (MSS 09700).

151 For a recent analysis of the manuscript, see Janke, 'Forgery and Appreciation'.

152 Bosch and Janke, 'Manuscript Illumination'.

153 Christie's, *Old Master*, lot 8.

154 Toews, 'Paint, Gesso, Silver, Gold' and Hill, 'Carter, Alexander Scott'.

155 Fuks-Mansfeld, 'The Hebrew Book Trade', 167 and Fuks, 'Amsterdam: Hebrew Printing', 19.

156 See further Walfish, 'Up for Auction'.

157 See, for example, Voelkle, *The Spanish Forger*, 1978.

158 Hindman, *Manuscript Illumination*, 120–122.

159 *Holy Hoaxes*, 8.

160 Webb and Webb, *The Publications*, 1.

161 Lupack, 'Illuminating Arthurian Texts', 46.

Kl nouemb hꝫ dies xxx. luna xxv

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